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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

An Evaluation of the Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Project

by

Emma C. Sicoli

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Geography

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Fall, 1984

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ISBN 0-315-30129-5

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.....

Supervisor

.....

.....

Date September 29, 1984

Dedication

I DEDICATE THIS THESIS TO MY GRANDMOTHER, ANNA GABBRIELLE SICOLI FOR THE DELIGHTFUL OLD-WORLD INSIGHTS SHE SHARED WITH ME DURING MY GRADUATE YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA.

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an ex-post evaluation of neighbourhood improvement projects implemented from 1974 to 1978 in the Canora district of Edmonton. Under the amended National Housing Act of 1973 the federal, provincial and municipal governments could enter into partnership to assist low-income neighbourhoods to upgrade municipal services and amenities. This was known as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP). Simultaneously, home-owners in these neighbourhoods could be assisted to rehabilitate their homes through the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP).

These programs were created in response to a national dissatisfaction with the social outcomes of previous urban renewal and public housing schemes, most notably the displacement of low-income residents to make way for non-residential redevelopment in inner-city areas. Where previous redevelopment had tended to be directed, first of all, at the worst possible residential areas, NIP and RRAP were to focus on minimally deteriorated areas that could be functionally restored through rehabilitation. Combined public and resident commitment to the provision of neighbourhood amenities and home improvements was also considered necessary to ensure that these neighbourhoods would be physically and socially stable after rehabilitation. In order to achieve this goal, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation set stringent selection criteria to identify neighbourhoods possessing those characteristics that would be conducive to neighbourhood revitalization. Among these criteria were a high rehabilitation need, low- to moderate-income households, neighbourhood deficiencies in recreational amenities and a stable population base.

In recent years incumbent upgrading has been identified as a major trend within the larger urban revitalization movement. As a theoretical concept it entails the idea of established residents (incumbents) choosing to remain in the neighbourhood, where they invest money and effort in refurbishing their homes, while public monies are used to improve neighbourhood infrastructure. This partnership is intended to minimize housing market discrimination, social externalities, property value inflation and resident displacement.

The Canora improvement plan, although carried out under NIP and RRAP, was actually conceived before the new legislation was adopted. It therefore, demonstrated

early notions of public participation and incumbent control in the community decision-making process before these practices had become widespread in North American cities. It was also the first comprehensive area improvement scheme in Edmonton. The ex-post evaluation therefore focused on the effectiveness with which such a scheme was able to address the social costs and benefits accompaning changes to the physical environment, especially housing stock changes.

The case study demonstrated that revitalization in Canora proceeded through private redevelopment in a manner that had not been anticipated by CMHC, planners or residents. Their optimistic vision of a stable, single-family neighbourhood was never realized and it is questionable whether it was a realistic scenario. Concomitantly with NIP and RRAP there occurred unexpected physical changes (duplex redevelopment and higher residential densities) and social changes (increased residential mobility, increased rental tenure and alterations to household age structure and composition). Not only were these changes unexpected, the Canora plan was specificly aimed to prevent their development.

These unforeseen changes have combined to create a quite different neighbourhood environment which does not meet the aspirations of the original incumbents as they had been represented under NIP and RRAP. Although these national housing policies stressed the retention and improvement of existing structures, the rehabilitation philosophy which supported them has not proven to reduce the social disruption associated with neighbourhood upgrading. Furthermore, the analysis of property assessment records illustrated that the private sector was not receptive to the maintenance of low-income residential housing stock. Despite community interests to the contrary, investment interests in Canora were better served by residential redevelopment than by rehabilitation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people for their support throughout my graduate years at the U. of A. There are however several key people to whom a owe a great deal of gratitude for their assistance.

First, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr. Peter J. Smith for the patience he showed in overseeing my work. His enthusiastic commitment to comprehensive planning was an inspiration to carry out tedious secondary research and laborious resident surveys. Many times it was he who raised significant questions to direct or redirect the course of the study. The thesis findings made the effort worthwhile.

Second, I would like to thank my contemporaries for their encouragement, without this I would certainly not have found the tenaciousness to press on. In this group are Rob, Gene, Maragret, John, Kimm, Jean, Mark, Malcolm, Sally, Tim, Shiela, Fred, Mary-Jane, Michel and Pat. Also in this group are Randy, Sharon and Hilka, staff members who provided friendly advice and technical assistance.

Third, I would like to thank my family for their support throughout the course of this writing. A special thanks to my parents-in-law Aime and Mike, their commitment to education has given me the personal ambition to set meaningful academic priorities.

Thanks are especially due to my husband, Peter John Laipnieks. My acknowledgement here is only a minor tribute to his commitment and confidence in my work. His conviction to higher learning has undoubtedly affected my performance and has instilled in me the belief that knowledge, in itself, is a worthwhile goal. Moreover, I am grateful to him for accepting the necessary sacrifices which allow both of us to undertake scholastic endeavours.

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1. RESEARCH CONCEPT AND PROCEDURES

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an ex-post evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) which were implemented in the Canora district of Edmonton from 1974 to 1978. The Canora NIP and RRAP projects were the first public attempts at large-scale rehabilitation in Edmonton, and the first to combine physical and social concerns with neighbourhood improvement. In their beginnings, they also predated the current interest and reinvestment in inner-city residential areas that is sweeping the larger urban centres in Canada, the United States, and Europe. Neighbourhood revitalization trends have been gaining momentum during the past decade as changes in economic conditions and social attitudes dictate new perspectives for urban housing policy and residential preferences.

The rehabilitation goals and objectives first framed in the Canora plan share many similarities with more recent revitalization theory and practice. The Edmonton approach was designed to fulfill the desire for extensive citizen participation in the planning process and to demonstrate commitment on the part of area residents to carry out neighbourhood plan proposals in conjunction with planning and civic bodies. Furthermore, publicly sponsored rehabilitation was endorsed as an alternative to the notion of urban renewal through redevelopment that had prevailed as the dominant housing improvement force in Canada. As it was, Edmonton was one of the first cities in Canada to implement a housing upgrading program and to adopt a comprehensive approach to large-scale rehabilitation. At the same time, a national program was being advocated under the auspices of the Canada (Central) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). Under this program, neighbourhoods designated for NIP and RRAP assistance were to be given a major role in designing and implementing unique improvement programs as the specific needs of their communities dictated.

The Canora neighbourhood exhibited strong resident involvement even before NIP was instituted. By 1972, under the threat of redevelopment and real estate pressures, residents had organized themselves to present their views to Edmonton City Council and to oppose absentee landlords who wished Canora to be rezoned to allow for walk-up

apartment redevelopment. With the introduction of NIP and RRAP, Canora s residents were provided with an even greater opportunity to participate in the neighbourhood planning process. Because the Canora project was the first in Edmonton, then, and because the residents have now been living with the results for some years, it seems timely to assess the successes and failures of the Canora neighbourhood plan as it has been implemented.

The Canora NIP project was the first step in a general metropolitan strategy to halt the premature deterioration and destruction of Edmonton's low-cost housing stock and, following from that, to curtail the loss of socially viable residential areas. The Canora plan advocated environmental rehabilitation as a comprehensive approach, both to remedy the problems of insidious decline and to improve the quality of life in inner-city neighbourhoods. It was readily admitted at the outset of the Canora project that all the implications of cost, time and outcome were not fully accounted for in the plan, but this uncertainty was allowed for in CMHC's philosophy for public intervention. Planning was to remain flexible and incremental to ensure that priorities would be locally determined (Canora Report, 1972, p. 1).

In addition, program evaluation by the residents themselves and by other independent agencies has always been a stated goal of CMHC policy. It is envisaged that this thesis will provide such an evaluation by attempting to compile a series of social and economic indicators to assess the nature, timing, degree and outcome of revitalization activity in Canora. The evaluation will focus on general categories of economic, social and environmental changes that can be said to have resulted from neighbourhood trends initiated or accentuated by public intervention. As public programs for neighbourhood improvement, NIP and RRAP were intended to concentrate reinvestment in specific geographical areas demonstrating adequate potential for revitalization. It is envisioned that the thesis will evaluate the capability of these public programs to reverse the negative processes of neighbourhood change while providing for the needs of the original community, since NIP and RRAP were intended to improve the quality of life of incumbent populations. In particular, since NIP and RRAP were to be directed at 'stable' communities, the thesis will attempt to determine whether the stability of Canora has been enhanced, or whether the improvement program has had the kind of destabilizing effect that is reported

in recent revitalization literature.

1.2 General Theoretical Concepts

1.2.1 Ex-Post Evaluation

The concept of ex-post evaluation was first developed in Canadian planning literature by Dakin in 1960. He suggested that post-plan analysis, as he called ex-post evaluation, should incorporate a 'survey of the way life goes on under various aspects of the plan when in operation,[and] feedback of the material thereby acquired into the planning technique for use in the future' (Dakin, 1960, p. 138). Dakin's theoretical model for planning decision-making and evaluation is presented in Figure 1.1. In his view, all planning should be 'a cyclical, self-regulating process of concept - action - modification - concept', dependent on continuous feedback from the environment. It is in this spirit - the belief that understanding the past can improve our ability to plan for the future, and that planning observation based on day-to-day performances of completed projects can provide significant insights - that the Canora case study was designed.

Since Dakin's first formulation of the concept, the term ex-post evaluation has replaced post-plan evaluation and has come to be accepted as the formal notation for evaluation carried out as a plan is being implemented or once it is terminated. If planning is seen as a continuous process of taking decisions and acting upon them, evaluation is the methodological phase which serves to establish continuity between the political decision-making process and the technical planning process (Figure 1.2). Ex-post evaluation is especially important in that initial objectives, those laid down during plan preparation, are seldom clearly defined and few techniques and theories exist to guide practitioners in goal formulation for future plans. Original plan objectives may change as a result of unintended consequences or unpredictable changes in the external environment, so that it is unrealistic to assume that planning objectives can be stated ahead of time in terms of measurable end-states (Seni, 1978, p. 111). Furthermore, initial normative statements may be incomplete or conflicting, which makes it difficult to establish appropriate criteria for ex-ante evaluation (i.e. the evaluation of alternative courses of action during plan preparation). Thus, Seni attempts to link future and past plan performance through

FIGURE 1.1

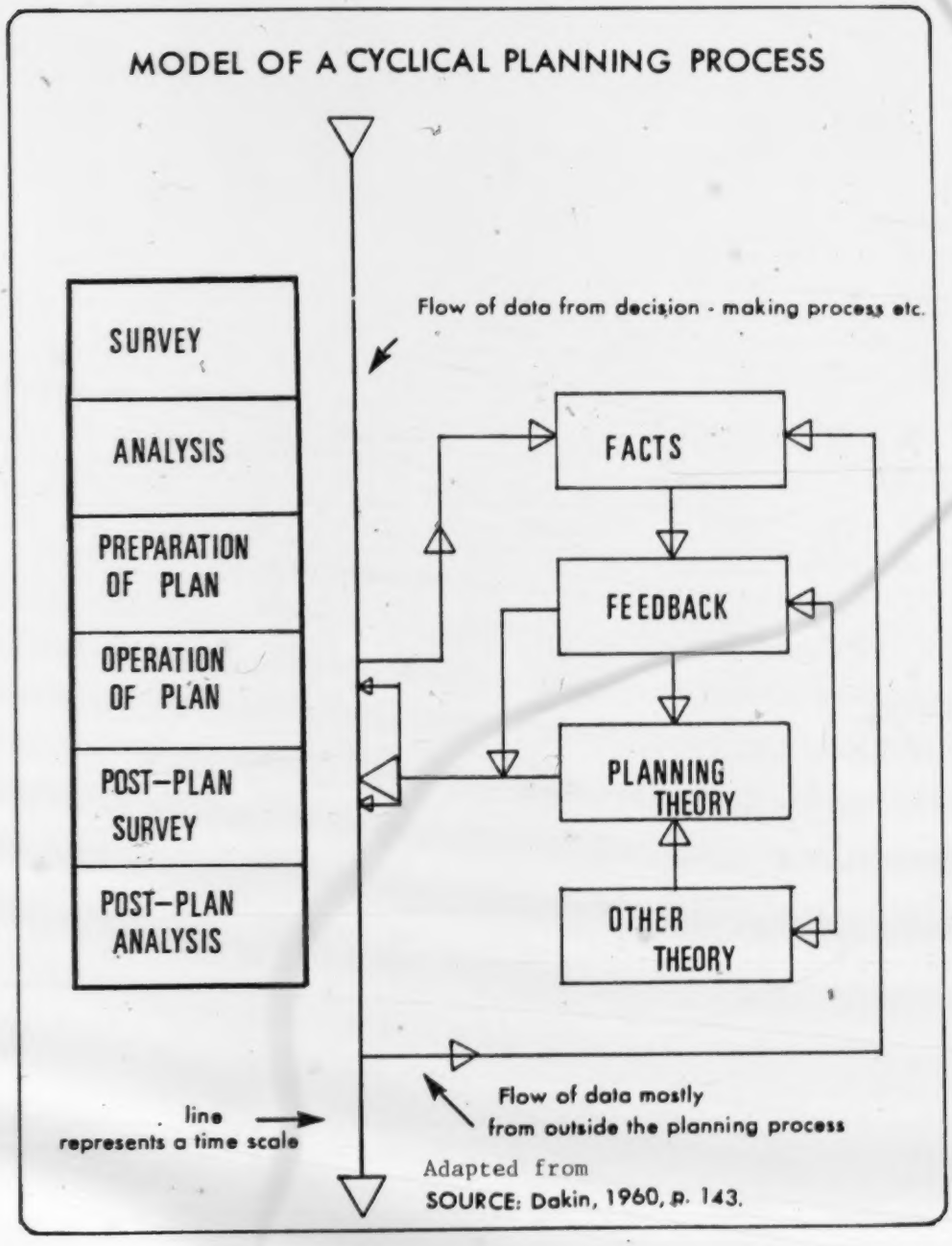
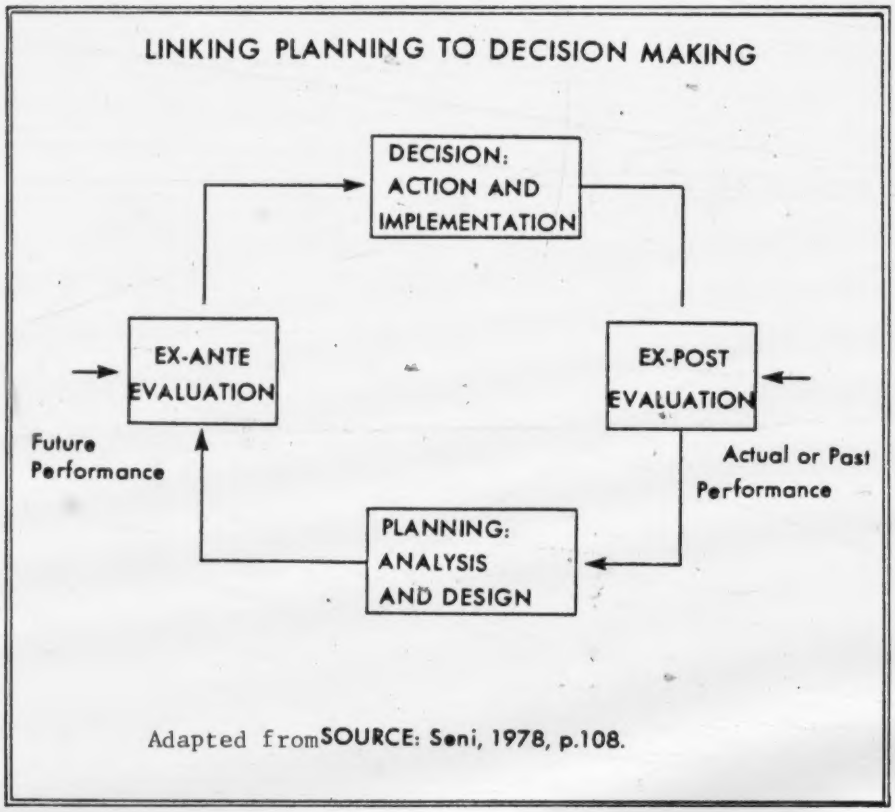

MODEL OF A CYCLICAL PLANNING PROCESS
SURVEY
ANALYSIS
PREPARATION OF PLAN
OPERATION OF PLAN
POST–PLAN SURVEY
POST–PLAN ANALYSIS
Flow of data from decision - making process etc.
FACTS
FEEDBACK
PLANNING THEORY
OTHER THEORY
Flow of data mostly from outside the planning process
. line represents a time scale
Adapted from
SOURCE: Dakin, 1960, p. 143.

FIGURE 1.2


LINKING PLANNING TO DECISION MAKING
DECISION: ACTION AND IMPLEMENTATION
EX-ANTE EVALUATION
EX-POST EVALUATION
Future Performance
Actual or Past Performance
PLANNING: ANALYSIS AND DESIGN
Adapted from SOURCE: Soni, 1978, p.108.

evaluation procedures. Ex-post evaluation feeds back information for new sequences of plan analysis and design from actual or past plan performances. In turn this information is fed back to predict future plan performance (ex-ante evaluation).

Ex-post evaluation is thus expected to reveal unanticipated problems with respect to the original plan, so that a new round of analysis and redesign can be undertaken. But, if ex-post evaluation is to be useful, the procedure must also yield information with which to evaluate the assumptions, notions and preconditions that were held at the time of plan implemention, so as to assess their validity. In this manner the physical and social repercussions of plan implementation may also be determined. Evaluation of any plan implies judgements of benefits and costs, equity and inequity, as a basis for making recommendations for future steps (Chadwick, 1971, p.267). Through ex-post evaluation planners are able to gauge the impacts of specific plans and strategies upon groups or individuals, and assess these impacts or *plan incidence* to measure the distributional effects of the plan's policies and proposals. Generalizations of anticipated plan performance made early in the planning process tend to mask the inequity and disbenefit that is often inherent in plans, but not discovered until the plan is in operation.

Evaluation is necessary for the identification of the beneficiaries as well as the benefits (Chadwick, 1978, p. 268). To do this, it is necessary to evaluate the plan's goal formulation criteria in an attempt to capture their relevance to the larger social concerns articulated in the plan (Chadwick, 1978, p. 260). An ex-post evaluation of goals and objectives should reveal how well the plan foresaw the needs of the people being planned for and was able to accommodate them. The results of this evaluation can then be related to the specific planning proposals to measure expected achievements against actual neighbourhood conditions.

Faludi (1973, p. 281) provides further justification for incorporating this kind of feedback into the planning process:

> The importance of feedback applies generally, whether the planning agency deals with physical objects or with people. This is because all images are uncertain in principle and differences between them a matter of degree. It is easier to formulate images of the physical environment which, having proved themselves time and time again, are relatively firm. It is relatively more difficult to isolate certain aspects of people's behaviour. This makes the need for feedback much more imperative.

Given the difficulty of assessing plan impacts on people, and the overall uncertainty that

surrounds all planning, ex-post evaluation is best supplemented by public participation. Citizen involvement provides the necessary links among the decision-makers, planners, politicians and residents to encourage information exchange.

1.2.2 Neighbourhood Improvement

There is much confusion and overlapping terminology in the contemporary literature on neighbourhood improvement. In this section the major terms will be defined and their differences explained.

Conventional urban renewal theory, as developed in the 1940s and 1950s, presented two approaches to the improvement of the standing stock of houses (Pickett, 1968). The first, *conservation*, required the application of sound maintenance standards to buildings and areas that were still in good condition though under threat of depreciation. The intent, simply, was to prevent the onset of urban blight. The second approach, *rehabilitation*, applied to those areas where the blighting process was well established but not yet irreversible. Rehabilitation was the means of restoring these areas to a healthy, attractive and stable condition. It entailed the repair and modernization of the individual houses and the upgrading of their environs, normally carried out with the aid of a planned program of public investment.

These ideas dominated urban renewal practice through the 1960s, but it gradually came to be realized that they were too simple to provide an effective framework for public policy. In part, this was because the theory assumed that physical conditions would be more or less uniform over whole neighbourhoods and that a standard form of planning control would therefore suffice. In fact, inner-city neighbourhoods characteristically displayed the gamut of housing quality, from houses that were still well maintained to those so badly dilapidated that they could not be saved. The concept of rehabilitation had to cover everything in between, from comparatively modest repairs to an otherwise sound and comfortable house, at one extreme, to the complete reconstruction of buildings that were no longer fit for human use.

Not surprisingly, the term rehabilitation has fallen into disfavour. In its place *revitalization* has recently gained popularity to identify comprehensive neighbourhood improvements that go beyond a minimum standard of property maintenance. Revitalization

has evolved to encompass an overall upgrading of an entire neighbourhood by the infusion of reinvestment capital. Financing for revitalization may stem from either private or public sources, or from some combination of both, but, most often, revitalization is understood to result from private ventures aimed at economic revival. Revitalization studies report numerous private-market efforts in construction and renovation activity with little incentive from the public sector (Black, 1975, p. 3).

Private revitalization of housing stock is commonly in the form of *gentrification*. This typically involves remodelling and rebuilding a portion of the urban environment to accommodate more profitable activity and to open new opportunities for higher income housing and retail markets. Succinctly stated, gentrified neighbourhoods are revitalized for higher social and economic uses by accommodating those activities that generate the greatest profits (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 1). Revitalization in this common sense is seen to encompass a rebirth in the desirability of central locations for middle- and upper-income residential users, normally without any centralized public institutional investment to reactivate neighbourhood viability and stability (Lipton, 1977, p. 137). Concomitantly, of course, the previous residents are displaced, presumably to other quarters of lower or declining status.

Aswell as through gentrification, revitalization may also be undertaken by the original residents, often with the aid of public assistance programs. This method of neighbourhood revitalization is known as *incumbent upgrading*. It involves a minimal turnover of population and is intended to maintain neighbourhood ambience without attracting new 'gentry'. Incumbent upgrading may result from personal or private initiative or it may be in response to public expenditures on neighbourhood infrastructure which demonstrates confidence in the neighbourhood's future (Clay, 1979). This was also the principal thrust behind NIP and RRAP investments for neighbourhood improvement in Canada. The public demonstration of commitment gave assurance to residents of deteriorated areas that their personal investments were well founded.

Incumbent upgrading has only recently been distinguished from other forms of revitalization (Nachmias and Palen, 1982, p. 181). Consequently, little is known about the social, economic or physical changes that accompany it, a point that strengthens the justification for a case study of an actual experience. For the purpose of this thesis

design, therefore, the Canora neighbourhood improvement project was viewed as an example of a planned program for incumbent upgrading carried out jointly by the residents and various public agencies. It was also envisioned, in keeping with contemporary theory of urban revitalization, that a variety of private and public actions would have been required to meet the overall objective of neighbourhood improvement. These were expected to include the rehabilitation of deteriorated or outmoded houses and community facilities; routine repair and maintenance of otherwise sound buildings; spot redevelopment of the sites of particularly dilapidated or inadequate buildings; and the construction of new community amenities and the redesign of existing ones, such as traffic control facilities. Above all, to conform with the concept of incumbent upgrading, the Canora project was expected to have been carried out with the full participation of the neighbourhood residents and for their direct benefit. These ideas also imply that Canora would have been identified as an established, stable community worthy of preservation as a social unit. An upgraded physical environment, it is assumed, will provide low-income homeowners with the assurance they need to make their own long-term commitments to property maintenance and community life.

1.3 Thesis Objectives and Research Design

As an ex-post evaluation of the Canora neighbourhood plan the thesis has one main objective: to try to determine whether the public costs of the project were justified by the physical and social outcomes. As in all strategies of public intervention a large investment of public capital was needed to implement the Canora plan but the effectiveness of that investment has not been assessed.

In planning theory, effectiveness is defined as the extent to which objectives are obtained (Money, 1973, p.331). This, in turn, implies two things: that the objectives are stated in a form that allows the plan's successes to be measured, and that the physical planning policies are appropriately related to the larger social ends that the program was designed to serve (Kent, 1964, p. 18). With respect to the first of these points, to satisfy the requirements of evaluation theory and Dakin's idea of a self-regulating planning system, it is necessary for every plan to set its own performance standards or criteria against which its progress towards the achievement of its objectives can be systematically

assessed (Bracken, 1981, p. 84-88). In the case of a neighbourhood improvement plan, which implies a single well-defined area and is due to be implemented within a limited time, a clear-cut set of physical planning objectives can normally be expected. It should therefore be relatively straightforward to determine the physical consequences of the plan and to measure its performance. The larger social ends, however, are not usually described with the same precision and measuring a plan's social achievements is altogether more problematic. It is also implict in the notion of evaluation that the stated social ends will themselves be subject to critical scrutiny, to determine whether they stand the test of practical experience. In brief, in the Canora case, was it realistic to have expected that the social ends of incumbent upgrading could be realized through physical planning policies?

To address this general problem, the thesis has been designed around the following sequence of steps:

1. Identify the specific objectives of the Canora plan, relate them to the social ends of NIP and RRAP, and then compile a record of actions taken under the plan. These include the award of loans and grants, compliance with minimum property standards for residential buildings, the provision of active neighbourhood organization, park and recreational improvements, reduction of neighbourhood traffic volumes, program incentives for spot redevelopment and expropriation of selected parcels of land, and the upgrading of school grounds and buildings.
2. Devise a series of physical and social indicators to determine whether the goal of maintaining a stable neighbourhood has been realized. Variables to be recorded include changes in neighbourhood population characteristics, resident social status, real estate market transactions, tenure status, residential land use and density, and assessed values of housing and property.
3. Administer questionnaire surveys to determine resident reactions to the neighbourhood changes, both planned and unplanned. Resident opinions are needed to identify those aspects of neighbourhood life that have been positively impacted by NIP proposals, as well as those that have been affected negatively. This exercise was undertaken because there is empirical evidence to support the claim that changes to the physical structure of neighbourhoods are known to have allocative consequences within the community, which are manifested most often in social

inequalities (Black, 1980, Clay, 1980). Nonetheless, planners still tend to view neigbourhoods as homogeneous communities, and adequate techniques for assessing the social costs of their plans.

4. Evaluate the effectiveness of the Canora plan through benefits and costs to the community. As stated above, unknown consequences may result from remedial plans to upgrade an area. These usually affect the socially and economically disadvantaged who may be restricted in their housing choices and limited in their ability to pay higher rents once rehabilitation has occurred. The impact of NIP and RRAP will therefore be assessed through a review of such issues as neighbourhood organization, resident displacement, household turnover rates, citizen concerns and satisfactions, neighbourhood stability and the general quality of life in contemporary Canora.

5. Draw out the implications for planning theory and practice of the Canora case study of public intervention into the neighbourhood rehabilitation process. Given the mandate that public intervention is to maximize social benefit, the Canora evaluation will consider the social equity dimensions of neighbourhood improvement programs in order to assess the distributional effects of NIP and RRAP as elements of national housing policy.

In summary, the ex-post evaluation exercise will permit an assessment of the *preservation* notion explict in the Canora NIP plan and other rehabilitation documents of the 1970's. Was the notion of neighbourhood preservation unrealistic in the sense that private market values determined land uses and densities, despite public intervention? Was Canora indeed preserved for the incumbent population or was it transformed into a new and different kind of neighbourhood? Is it realistic to assume that public expenditures can be used to upgrade the quality of life of incumbents, without simultaneously providing the housing market with new investment potential?

The thesis may not yield exact answers to all the questions involved in neighborhood revitalization, but it will present an analysis of the longitudinal changes which have occurred in Canora through the years. Furthermore, the study will present a picture of a revitalized neighbourhood as it existed in 1982. The time period captures the key actors and processes operating in revitalized neighbourhoods and that may compel Canora

to further change (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975, p.8).

1.4 The Study Area

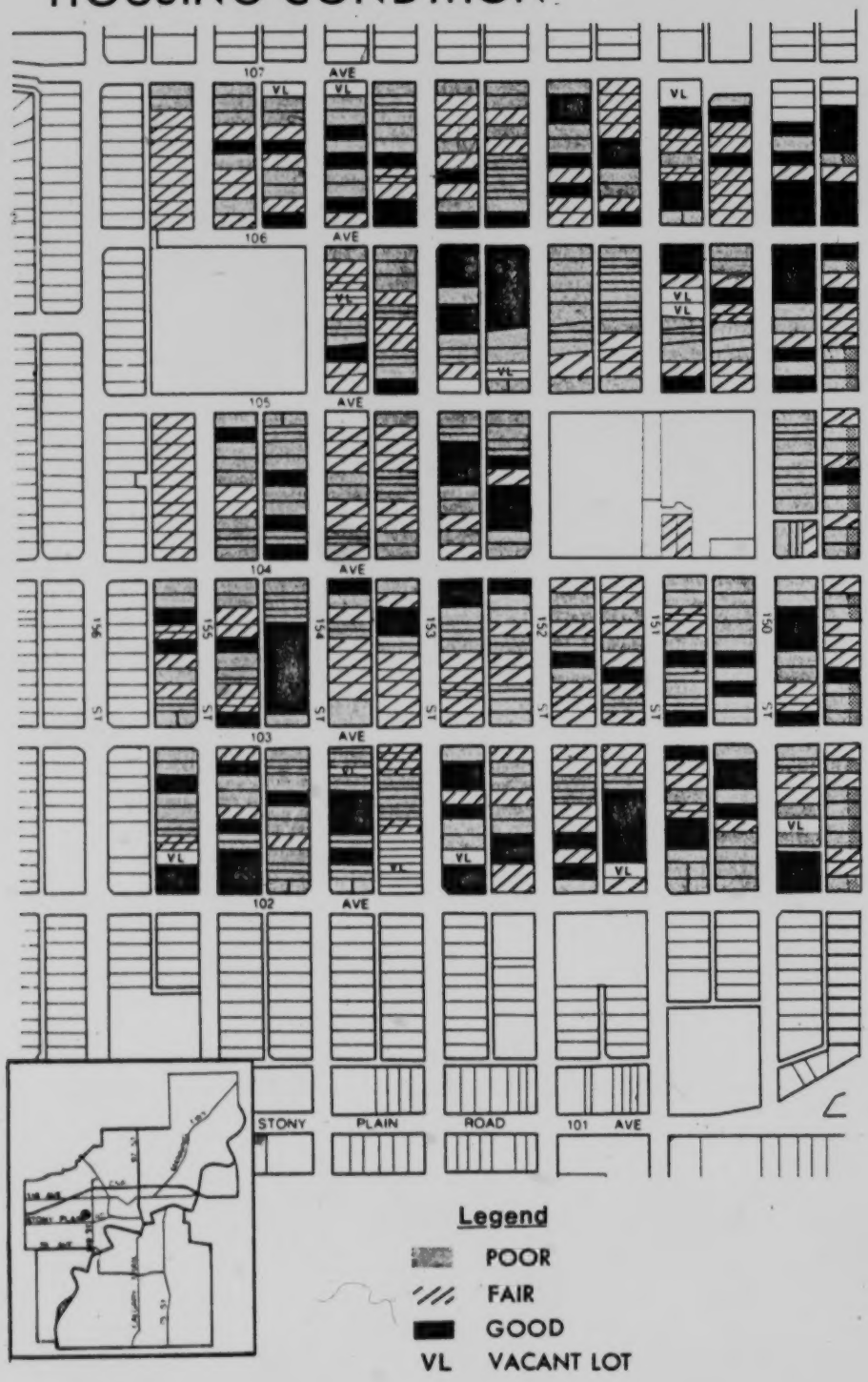
The Canora neighbourhood is part of the district known as North Jasper Place. It is bounded by 149th Street to the east, 156th Street to the west, Stony Plain Road to the south, and 107 Avenue to the north (Figure 1.3). This area constitutes approximately one-sixth of the Town of Jasper Place as it existed prior to its amalgamation with the City of Edmonton in 1964.

The designation of Canora as the first NIP neighbourhood came at a critical time in Edmonton's planning history. The City had undertaken an extensive urban renewal study to uncover the major areas of housing need in the city. At the same time, federal concerns were shifting away from redevelopment toward the rehabilitation and conservation of the existing housing stock and the preservation of established communities. Several factors contributed to the selection of Canora as the first NIP and RRAP neighbourhood in Edmonton:

1. The poor quality of the housing stock due to the low standard of construction and municipal services that prevailed in Jasper Place prior to amalgamation (see Figure 1.3). At the time the houses were built (in the 1940s and 1950s)there was no effective building code enforcement. Most of the houses were small, averaging 800 square feet, and many of them had been built by their owners. Stucco frame construction prevailed. The residential lots were also poorly serviced and there were few neighbourhood amenities.
2. The favourable location of Canora in relation to the central business district, the industrial areas to the north, and regional recreation facilities such as Coronation Park, as well as its proximity to an expanding business district on Stony Plain Road and its accessibility to major transportation links. These factors made Canora a desirable location for a permanent population of low-income homeowners.
3. The loss of neighbourhood confidence that resulted from apartment construction on the perimeter of the neighbourhood (notably, 103 Avenue and 156 Street) and from the lobbying efforts of absentee landlords who wished to allow further rezoning to permit walk-up apartment redevelopment. The homeowners in the interior of the

Figure 1.3

THE CANORA STUDY AREA 1972
HOUSING CONDITION



neighbourhood, who made up 70 percent of the population, wished to maintain Canora as a single-family community, but they were reluctant to invest their savings in housing improvements as long as the future of the neighbourhood remained uncertain.

4. Heavy traffic volumes on the neighbourhood streets were causing much resident dissatisfaction and protests had been organized early in 1971 in an attempt to have external traffic rerouted around Canora. In its layout Canroa followed the traditional gridiron plan. Every street was a potential through street and offered drivers the opportunity for short cuts between the major traffic arteries.

1.5 Research Methods and Data Sources

1.5.1 Canora Household Questionnaire Surveys

The questionnaire survey was designed to be the most important single source of information for the thesis. It was devised to test the experiences of two distinct groups of residents: those who lived in Canora before the neighbourhood improvement plan was implemented and who, therefore, may have taken part in its preparation (long-term residents); and those residents who had moved to Canora at some later date (short-term residents). A draft questionnaire was pretested in the homes of five Canora Community League (CCL) members during April 1982, at which time it became clear that two separate questionnaires would improve the quality of information. (See Appendix 1 for copies of the questionnaires). The two groups can be expected to have had quite different motives for residing in Canora, and it is likely that each group will have had quite different experiences during their stay. Long-term residents were specifically asked to evaluate the effects of the NIP improvements, while the short-term residents were chiefly asked to describe the factors that influenced them to rent or own property in Canora. The long-term residents were also asked to report on their personal involvement with the planning processes and their experiences of life in a revitalized neighbourhood.

With two separate questionnaires to administer it was also necessary to define two distinct sample frames. First, the long-term residents were isolated by cross-referencing the 1974 membership list of the Canora Neighbourhood Improvement

Association (CNIA) with the Edmonton Street Directory to locate those members who were still living in Canora in 1981. Between 1974 and 1976 virtually all Canora residents were on file with the CNIA, so the 1974 list was believed to be a reliable basis for identifying those residents who might have participated in the NIP and RRAP programs. Eighty-two households were discovered by this method and all were surveyed.

The sample frame for the short-term residents was also drawn from the Edmonton Telephone Street Directory. As the first step all listed households with Canora addresses were identified. There were 1,141 of them, which gave a sample frame of 1,059 short-term residents after the 82 long-term residents were subtracted. A random selection process was then used to ensure a representative sample of one household in three.

The drop-off and mail-back method was used to administer the the questionnaire because it is hailed in the social science literature as an effective and expedient means of gathering data for a geographical area (Oppenhiem, 1966; Berdie and Anderson, 1974; Babbie, 1979). It was particularly envisioned that hand delivery of the questionnaires would allow for contact with individual residents to encourage a higher and better level of responses while ensuring their anonymity. It was hoped that this would overcome the typical low response rate of mail-out, mail-back questionnaire surveys. However, it was considered important to try to avoid the emotional polarity which generally surrounds neighbourhood revitalization and land use disputes (Berdie and Anderson, 1974, p. 41). The questionnaires were therefore self-administered, and were to be returned at the discretion of the recipients. A reminder notice was distributed to all surveyed residents five days after the initial contact and delivery of the questionnaire. This proved to be futile. No additional reponses were received.

Completed questionnaires were returned by 50 of the 82 long-term residents for a response rate of 61 percent. The rate for short-term residents was substantially lower: 21 percent, or 73 responses from the sample frame of 353 households. The combined response rate was 28 percent, or a total of 123 questionnaires from the 435 households that were surveyed. These 123 responses also represented 9 percent of the 1,141 dwellings units in Canora (Edmonton 1981 Civic Census).

1.5.2 City of Edmonton Property Assessment Records

Real property records in the City Assessor's Department provide a wide variety of information from which it is possible to trace changes in a residential area (McCann, 1972, p. 1). Parcels of land are registered by roll number, street address and block location for any given subdivision. These records facilitate the identification of land use change and rezoning, property splits, and changes in residential ownership. The general purpose for obtaining access to the assessment data was to compile a record of revitalization participants and trends in Canora. The data collected were those relating to residential tenure status, building and property values, building code standards and violations, rehabilitation improvements, and names and addresses of participants to establish the physical nature of neighbourhood improvement. It was hoped that the trend to revitalization could then be reconstructed from actual housing stock changes.

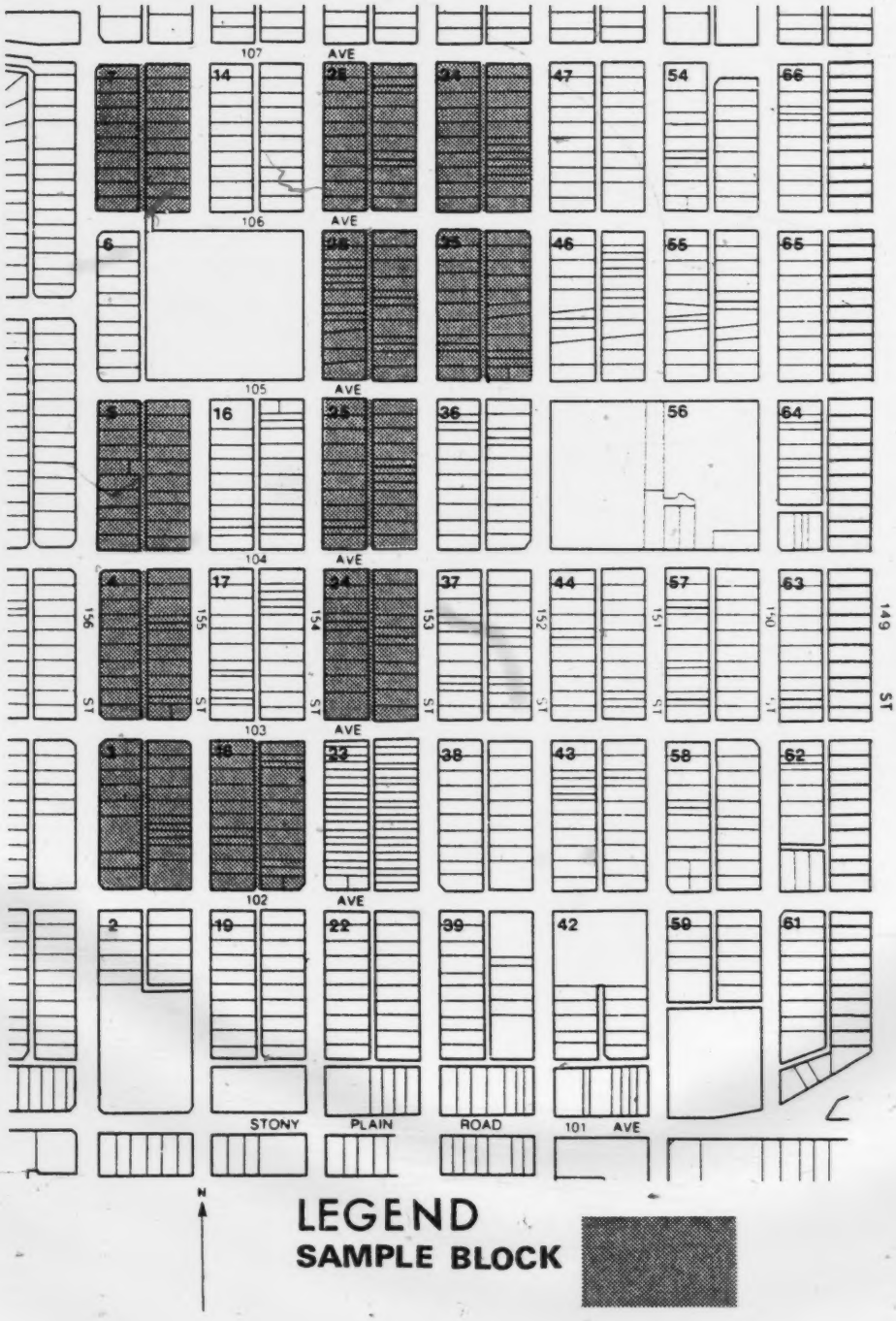
The sampling procedure for assessment record files concentrated on 11 of the 31 residential blocks within the Canora neighborhood boundary (Figure 1.4). The limited time available and the strict controls over the access to assessment records did not allow all neighbourhood roll numbers to be drawn. Attention was therefore concentrated on the western half of the interior of Canora. Sampling followed the sequential order of roll numbers, beginning with the lowest numbers in block 3 (102 Ave and 156 Street), then north to block 7 (107 Ave and 156 Street) and east, concentrating on interior blocks (blocks 24 to 27 and blocks 34 to 38).

A total of 227 (approximately 30 percent) residential lots were investigated, including cancelled property records. It was considered that these sample blocks and lots are representative of neighbourhood properties in general. Physically speaking, Canora's land use pattern is uniform from west to east. It is bounded on both sides by major throughfares, without differentiation of land use or zoning restrictions. The southernmost blocks (2, 19, 22, 39, 42, 59 and 61), where the main commercial land use pressure had been experienced, were excluded. Nor were there any apparent distinctions when Canora was divided into quadrants, so it seemed reasonable to concentrate upon one sector.

By identifying the major housing stock changes and participants in neighbourhood improvement from assessment records, a clearer understanding of neighbourhood transformation could be obtained. The significant questions to be asked are, 'Did

Figure 1.4

PROPERTY ASSESSMENT RECORDS SAMPLE: BY REPRESENTED ROLL NUMBER BLOCKS



revitalization in Canora proceed as planned or was further unplanned change stimulated during the public rehabilitation process? And, what groups actually benefitted from revitalization?

1.5.3 Edmonton Real Estate Board Records

Once the basic improvement trends in Canora were determined, it became apparent that assessed property values did not reflect the actual market conditions at the time NIP and RRAP were implemented. Moreover, it was possible that houses in Canora had higher market values than the assessment records would indicate. Not only were assessed property values not in line with general real estate values, but a citywide housing shortage placed Canora's stock of modest housing in high demand. What was needed, therefore, was an indication of the volume of real estate sales and market prices in Canora both before and after the NIP and RRAP projects were implemented. These real estate transactions, it was thought, would reflect the nature of Canora's revitalization pattern and demonstrate the pressures which impel neighbourhoods to 'higher and better economic uses'.

Multiple Listing Service (MLS) Directories were used to record all real estate transactions in Canora from 1963 to 1981. These listings record property transactions by major real estate firms, noting housing characteristics and the listed and actual sale prices. For the purpose of the thesis, data on housing code, style, size, age, price and location of owners were collected to reconstruct the changes in Canora's environment. The data were also used to acertain Canora's real estate image in the metropolitan housing market. They were envisioned to be more reflective of neighbourhood attraction and stability than either resident questionnaires or assessment data.

1.5.4 City of Edmonton Civic Census

In addition to gathering individual property histories, it was desirable to be able to reconstruct the general historical progression of Canora as a revitalized neighbourhood from census data indicating changes to the socio-demographic profile. The social elements of change should be revealed from changes to neighbourhood age structure employment and lifestyle status, housing tenure, length of residency, and other social

indicators. Longitudinal comparisons of Canora before and after the NIP and RRAP projects should reveal the overall impact of neighbourhood improvements on resident socio-economic status. These were carried out for the years 1964 to 1981 based on City of Edmonton civic census trends and records.

To evaluate social impacts of plans, changes to neighbourhood social status must be tested as possible unanticipated consequences of neighbourhood improvement. This is essential if there is to be assurance that intended target groups are, in actuality, those who benefited from public assistance to improve neighbourhood quality. NIP had, as one of its main objectives, the provision of affordable housing for moderate income groups. Changes in neighourhood social status since the NIP program could be indicative of a new income group *invading* a low-income neighbourhood.

Canora neighbourhood census data were extracted from civic census tract number 50 (enumeration areas 3, 4, and 5) which corresponds closely to the neighbourhood boundaries created by the NIP project. The pertinent census information to satisfy the objectives of the thesis were changes to resident population; household composition; occupational and marital status; and neighbourhood age structure. Data were also recorded for length of residence in Canora and the tenure and type of current neighbourhood accommodation. These data were expected to provide an updated profile of residents and assist in addressing the remaining unanswered questions about the extent and nature of resident relocation since the NIP and RRAP projects. It was expected that census data would permit an assessment of Canora as a revitalized neighbourhood and reveal whether or not public resource expenditures helped to maintain Canora as a low-income, low-density residential area.

1.5.5 Field Research

Field investigation for the thesis included interviews with City of Edmonton planning personnel, CNIA members and executive members, a windshield survey of housing conditions, and informal observation of day-to-day life of residents. It is to be expected that the formal documentation of neighbourhood improvement or changes to quality of life will be presented in a subjective manner in accordance with the goals of those doing the reporting. Therefore, interviews with both planners and residents were

useful sources of secondary information regarding specific impacts of NIP and RRAP, land-use principles, zoning restrictions, planning policies, and insights on various professional and community groups. Accountability is essential in locally-determined, community development approaches to neighbourhood improvement such as NIP and RRAP provided in Canora. Specific target groups were to have been represented and served in the revitalization process and it was important to the thesis design that their experiences and opinions should be sought.

1.6 Presentation of the Thesis

In Chapter 2 the concept of incumbent upgrading is described, and the theoretical conditions that favour this form of neighbourhood improvement are reviewed. Chapter 3 deals with the development of urban renewal policy in Canada, with particular emphasis on the evolution of rehabilitation and neighbourhood improvement in relation to national housing policy. The NIP and RRAP programs are also described in some detail. In Chapter 4 the events leading to Canora's designation as a NIP project are described and the intentions of the proposed neighbourhood improvement plan are outlined. The dimensions of neighbourhood change and improvement, as ascertained from real estate and civic census data, are presented in Chapter 5. Changes to neighbourhood population, household composition, resident length of residence, housing stock quality, neighbourhood amenities and neighbourhood quality of life are investigated. Then, in Chapter 6, resident evaluations of neighbourhood improvement are presented to determine the local reaction to planned and unplanned neighbourhood change. The final chapter, Chapter 7, draws out the implications of the Canora neighbourhood improvement project for general planning theory and practice. Some general suggestions are also made to assist future neighbourhood revitalization studies.

2. INCUMBENT UPGRADING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

2.1 The Concept of Incumbent Upgrading

Incumbent upgrading of residential neighbourhoods must be seen as a quite different process from gentrification. In the latter middle- and upper-income residents invade a declining neighbourhood and restore it to their own ends, whereas incumbent upgrading occurs when established residents choose to remain and invest money and effort in refurbishing their homes. This alternative has recently gained popularity as neighbourhoods have gained some degree of political autonomy and as residents have united to oppose both large-scale public clearance programs and private gentrification. Incumbent upgrading has also taken hold as a result of larger social movements active in neighbourhoods in the 1970's. These movements pushed for historic preservation, environmental awareness and community organization (Jamieson, 1984, p. 46). Neighbourhoods have re-emerged as the principal unit of community development policy and program concern. This perspective is expected to result in a socially equitable allocation of community development and revitalization resources at the neighbourhood level.

Current incumbent upgrading efforts also reflect increasing government interest in neighbourhood development as a vehicle for public service delivery. Neighbourhood power is a central theme in that movement (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 38), and attempts to gain community control over resources for local investment. Neighbourhoods have recently emerged as an important political force(Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974). Incumbent upgrading appears to be a way of ensuring community-based control over rehabilitation and revitalization processes.

Incumbent upgrading has generally been depicted in the residential revitalization literature as a process occurring in socially stable neighbourhoods occupied by moderate-income households. The proportion of home-owners will be high but there will also be signs of deterioration to the housing stock and to the general physical environment. The upgrading process may occur with or without public assistance, but all efforts are directed to organize residents to resist the forces of decline and disinvestment (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 46). Because they prefer to maintain

their urban lifestyle and cannot face the high costs for new housing, residents select conservation of their present homes over migration to the suburbs (James, 1980, p.131). In this manner residents are able to stabilize their neighbourhoods socially and physically, and the gathering threat of deterioration is dissolved (Levy, 1980).

Not only are incumbents interested in maintaining their inner-city housing, but the high cost of new suburban housing options has made existing housing more attractive. In general the median price for existing housing in central areas is substantially lower than the median for all housing (Clay, 1979, pp. 40-1). These wide price differences are attracting and retaining many residents who might otherwise have moved to outer areas.

Incumbent upgrading is also gaining popularity in reaction to conflicts between incumbents and gentrifiers in revitalizing neighbourhoods. The significant lifestyle and value differences between incumbent residents and the new middle-class pioneers has generated social conflict and political discord that, in some cases, cannot be publicly ignored. The disruptive effects of gentrification have sometimes forced residents to band together into neighbourhood organizations to lobby local governments to develop neighbourhood improvement projects for the benefit of incumbents (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 48). Gentrification may even take on a social stigma because it is associated with the displacement of residents by higher income groups who, having purchased property cheaply, renovate it to much higher standards, thus destroying the original character of the area. This displacement of incumbents from gentrifying neighbourhoods has received much attention in both popular and professional literature (Cyrbriwsky, 1978).

2.2 Theoretical Rationale for Government Intervention In Housing Improvements

The justification for public intervention into residential rehabilitation or revitalization processes has been substantiated in theoretical, philosophical, humanitarian, and empirical terms (Downs, 1979; Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Clay, 1979). Above all, public intervention into housing supply has traditionally been motivated by the social and economic needs of those caught in the circle of poverty. The public motives for intervention may be summarized as follows:

1. to correct housing market imperfections and discrimination;

2. to minimize social externalities of urban blight;
3. to improve neighbourhood property values; and
4. to provide guidance and demonstrate innovative housing techniques.

2.2.1 Housing Market Imperfections and Discrimination

Housing market imperfections result from impaired private market mechanisms that leave some portion of the housing market unsatisfied or result in a less than optimum housing supply (Mathews, 1978, p.12). During inflationary periods the proportion of income devoted to housing is increased at the household level, but the flow of capital resources into the total housing market decreases. This *tilt problem* results not from actual decline in housing demand, but, rather, from disproportionately higher real costs of home ownership. In addition, market imperfections sometimes arise from government intervention itself. Planning or zoning restrictions introduced in response to resident concerns for maintaining the quality of their neighbourhood environment or to ensure that municipal standards are enforced, may backfire and cause grave housing market imbalances. Because of their exclusionary effect, they may limit access to housing for some groups.

Housing discrimination against groups may be in the form of mortgage refusal to minority groups, low-income families, or single-mothers or rental refusals to students or families with children. These practices create housing market imperfections by denying access to housing opportunities for disadvantaged groups. Mortgage market discrimination for properties in run-down neighbourhoods has long been recognized (Black, 1980; Clay, 1979). *Redlining* neighbourhoods to prohibit conventional lending for homes bought in these areas has also created housing market imbalances. Many feel that these discriminatory practices warrant public programs to guarantee equal access to housing and offset private housing market imperfections. Public programs for housing purchase or rehabilitation are expected to minimize the distorting impact of conventional money market lending for some groups.

To reduce the impact of housing market imperfections caused by inflation, social attitudes and discriminatory lending practices, governments at all levels rationalize their intervention by claiming an intermediary role to ensure that real estate, land use, and

revitalization activities progress in a socially desirable direction. They may choose to combat the problem of discrimination by providing low-interest loans or grants to assist modest income residents with home repairs, or they may choose to purchase houses themselves to assure that modest housing stock is maintained and preserved. It has been found that few private revitalization projects make allowances for low-income or subsidized housing. Public rehabiliation projects are therefore expected to guarantee that modest housing units will be provided after revitalization. In addition, public projects may take the form of incumbent upgrading schemes which provide local residents with every opportunity to upgrade their housing and their standard of living simultaneously.

2.2.2 Negative Social Externalities of Private Actions

Public intervention into neighbourhood and housing improvement processes is further justified on the grounds that negative social externalities result from private housing improvements undertaken without public coordination(Cox, 1973). Public expenditures are expected to guarantee basic neighbourhood amenities and provide for needy groups in society (Mathews, 1978, p.19). Since private housing consumers are willing to pay only for the benefits that accrue to them, external benefits and costs to the rest of the community are not usually reflected in market prices or values(Mathews, 1978, p. 19). The price of housing reflects only the private benefit. This creates an overdemand for high quality housing and a low demand for poor quality housing. The externalities that accompany declining neighbourhood conditions therefore require government intervention to encourage the adjustment of supply and demand to compensate for 'soft' neighbourhood real estate markets.

Another positive externality of public intervention is that it helps to maintain the supply of low-cost housing. Under normal market conditions a large part of that supply (older inner-city housing) is allowed to deteriorate, which would be a negative externality.

Negative externalities also result as individual residents undermaintain their properties. Government intervention in the form of a maintenance subsidy or a minimum standard regulation is then required to achieve the described level of residential maintenance. Housing quality externalities are expected to affect the degree of neighbourhood crime, infectious disease and social alienation, as well as problems of

child-rearing and mental health. Public interventionists argue that good housing has far-reaching effects on the quality of life. Thus, pressure is often placed on public agencies to formulate policies to remedy the social deterioration that tends to be associated with substandard living environments. Yet the the extent to which public intervention gains support, whatever its primary basis, usually depends on the cost of improvements to taxpayers (Solomon and Vandell, 1982, p. 82). At various times and in various forms, public intervention into the neighbourhood improvement process has been heralded positively as a social obligation or negatively as conflicting with private housing market forces. As the pendulum swings between these two extremes, support for government intervention into housing markets ebbs and flows.

2.2.3 Improving Neighbourhood Property Values

Advocates of public intervention claim that it is blight itself that is expensive to maintain. They base their argument on the view that blighted areas lose their attraction to newcomers and residents alike, and so suffer reductions in their tax bases which must then be balanced by increases in property tax rates elsewhere within the city boundary. Non-interventionists, on the other hand, argue that housing markets are best left to maintain their own equilibrium. Some would go so far as to argue that intervention actually aggravates an already volatile situation and causes further housing imbalances. Others believe that poor property maintenance is contagious and easily spread to surrounding parcels. Alternatively, once a few residents begin to indicate interest in property improvement, others follow to create a widespread economic benefit. Within this controversy one consistent finding exists: residents alone cannot be expected to control neighbourhood quality, and municipal investment in services and facilities must also be maintained if a neighbourhood is not to deteriorate.

2.2.4 Housing Demonstration and Innovation

It is sometimes argued that housing consumers are not well enough informed about housing rehabilitation to make intelligent improvement decisions. There is, therefore, a legitimate demonstration role for governments to play. They can provide current housing information, initiate better housing inspection and building material standards, and inform

the public of basic building restrictions (Mathews, 1978, p. 2.1). As innovators, public agencies can conduct experiments in upgrading techniques and technology, and pass this knowledge on to small builders and homeowners who are not in the position to mount research projects themselves.

2.3 Incumbent Upgrading as a Public Responsiblity

Incumbent upgrading is intended, first and foremost, to reduce resident displacement and avoid the financial burdens and social disruption that usually accompany unplanned private revitalization. Residents are motivated to commit themselves to long-term investments and to other efforts to refurbish their homes with the goal of enhancing neighbourhood stability. Incumbent upgrading is thus seen as evidence of a selective, small-scale reversal of sagging resident investment and interest in established neighbourhoods (Clay, 1979, p.35; Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 37). The incumbent improvement process may commence with or without government assistance but, given the modest resources of most homeowners in deteriorating neighbourhoods, public funds are commonly seen as the necessary catalysts needed to stimulate private revitalization.

2.3.1 Characteristics Favouring Incumbent Upgrading of Neighbourhoods

2.3.1.1 Physical Neighbourhood Traits

To have the potential for incumbent upgrading, neighbourhoods must possess several qualities that can be exploited during the improvement process to catapult them from decline and disinvestment into a revitalization cycle. These qualities may include incipient housing deterioration, a stable population base and a high owner-to-renter ratio. Minimal expenditures must suffice to bring housing up to municipal building standards. Neighbourhood infrastructure stands to be most improved from public expenditures, so neighbourhoods with extreme infrastructure deficiencies are still able to benefit from incumbent upgrading.

Generally speaking, neighbourhoods that undergo incumbent upgrading are not as old as those that attract gentrification. Their building style tends to be modest twentieth century housing, while gentrifying neighbourhoods often have heritage

value based on the architectural purity of their stock (Clay, 1979, p. 45). Incumbent upgrading occurs most often in neighbourhoods characterized by single-family dwelling units with few multi-family structures, and even fewer apartment complexes. Unlike gentrified neighbourhoods, which typically contain a substantial portion of housing in poor condition, the housing stock of neighbourhoods judged to be suitable for incumbent upgrading is basically sound. Very few incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods have been found to have suffered severe deterioration or abandonment (Clay, 1979, p. 45). Deterioration, as it occurs in these areas, tends to be spotty in its distribution or concentrated in a small part of the neighbourhood.

Property values are generally similar between incumbent and gentry upgraded neighbourhoods, but gentrified properties tend to be structurally deficient when they are purchased for rehabilitation. Cost differences are most significant in the purchase prices for housing in the two types of neighbourhoods. Low purchase prices suggest that moderate-income families are acquiring and upgrading modest property at moderate costs. Gentrification, on the other hand, is characterized by premium prices being paid for deteriorated housing on which new owners later spend a great deal for rehabilitation and expensive styling.

2.3.1.2 Social Neighbourhood Traits

Incumbent upgrading is also likely to be most successful in neighbourhoods that possess certain social qualities. First is the nebulous but still very important quality usually referred to as *community spirit.* The potential for community identity is essential for successful neighbourhood improvement because residents must rally together to campaign for media attention in their fight for neighbourhood preservation. Second, strong neighbourhood bonds must be present to unify residents and assist them in gaining confidence in neighbourhood improvement and in developing communication skills to present their goals to city council. Third, residents of incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods must be well organized to control undesirable real estate activites by, for example, absentee landlords, through formal opposition tactics and lobbying. Finally, neighbourhoods considered for incumbent upgrading projects must be dominated by settled families that have lived in the area for quite some time and are committed to remaining there (Clay, 1979, p. 45).

Incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods do not normally contain many families in the early stages of the family life cycle, let alone many single-person or transient households.

There is little racial and class composition data for incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods in Canada, but in the U.S. racial characteristics continue to be the most divisive issue in neighbourhood revitalization (Clay, 1979, p. 37). Incumbent upgrading has occurred primarily in black or strongly segregated neighbourhoods. Economically, almost all incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods are solidly working-class or blue-collar (Clay, 1979, p. 46). This may be partially explained by the fact that improvement expenditures for incumbent upgrading are lower than for gentrification. In working-class neighbourhoods only modest improvements to housing can normally be afforded.

2.3.2 Classification of Neighbourhood Need and Upgrading Potential

Determining exactly which neighbourhoods have the potential for incumbent upgrading, or even identifying those which are far too deteriorated to warrant public intervention has proven, in practice, to be very difficult. Neighbourhood housing conditions, life-cycles, degree of resident organization, and levels of public and private commitment to revitalization vary greatly. To date, the investigation of decline and, in particular, real estate market trends, has not been carried out in a comprehensive manner (Ahlbrandt and Cunningham, 1979, p. 23). Most neighbourhood classification research has been anecdotal and far too descriptive to deal with the economic and social impacts of neighbourhood decline. Few studies have addressed the magnitude and impact of institutional forces and residential change, mobility and displacement which often occur as neighbourhoods decline (Rohe, 1982, p.369).

A study of neighbourhood incumbent upgrading would not be complete without a review of current neighbourhood life-cycle models which incorporate growth, development, decline and, by extension, revitalization processes. Until recently, however, the possibility of neighbourhood rebirth was given little consideration.

The life-cycle of neighbourhoods has traditionally been explained in terms of *'push-pull', 'invasion-succession' or 'filtering-down'* processes (Burgess, 1925; Hoyt,

1939). In the classical ecological theories and models, neighbourhoods were envisaged to be on a downward slide toward inevitable deterioration. Once decline was apparent in the housing stock, economic and social disinvestment was sure to occur. This deterministic interpretation has had profound impacts on neighbourhood improvement policy, and has helped shape the decisions of realtors, appraisers, developers, financial agencies and planners. Both the supply side and the demand side of the residential transition equation have been influenced. Appraisers have stepped into 'soft' real estate markets and accelerated the decline process by reinforcing resident selling panic in anticipation of decline and redevelopment. On the demand side, these models have rendered entire areas 'untouchable' by instigating redlining practices or by generating negative neighbourhood propaganda. Real estate models of decline have sometimes been used to devastate neighbourhoods and have thwarted attempts to attract government intervention or private investment to revive them. On the basis of life cycle theory, seriously deteriorating areas have been left to rot while investment capital has been injected into areas of incipient decline (Cohen, 1979, p. 235).

Several ecological models have been developed in recent years but the one most widely used in urban housing policy is the **United States Housing and Urban Development Real Estate Model,** commonly referred to as the HUD model (Lachman and Downs, 1978, p. 207). This is considered by planners and housing officials to be the most comprehensive life-cycle model for neighbourhood processes. The HUD model presumes negative neighbourhood change and assumes that the real force behind such change is the quality and age of residential structures. The sequence of the neighbourhood life cycle is explained by Lachman and Downs to occur along a continuum of five stages:

1. Stage 1 Stable and Viable. These are healthy neighbourhoods that are either relatively new and thriving or relatively old and stable. There are no apparent symptoms of decline and neighbourhood property values continue to rise.

2. Stage 2 Minor Decline. These are generally older areas with some functional obsolescence. Minor deficiencies in housing units are visible and densities are higher than when the neighbourhood was first developed. The level of public services is below that of stage one areas.

3. Stage 3 Clear Decline. Renters are nearly or fully dominant in the housing market. The social status of the neighborhood is lower than that of Stage 1 or 2 areas because lower socio-economic groups predominate in the residential population. Minor physical deficiencies are visible everywhere. Many structures are converted to higher-density uses than were first designed. Overall confidence in the area's future is weak as indicated by abandoned housing.

4. Stage 4 Heavily Deteriorated. Housing is very deteriorated and even dilapidated, and most structures require major repairs. Properties are marketable only to the lowest socio-economic groups through contract sales (rental). Profitability of rental units is poor, and cash flows are low or even negative. Subsistence level households are numerous and may even dominate. Pessimism about the area's future is widespread, so is abandonment.

5. Stage 5 Unhealthy and Nonviable. Neighbourhoods of this type are at a terminal point marked by massive abandonment. Expectations about the area's future are nil. Residents are those with the lowest incomes in the region. The neighbourhood is considered an area to move out of, not into.

The HUD prototype does not encompass neighbourhood revitalization as a means of reversing the decline process. Critics suggest that the HUD model should be extended to include upgrading as well as downgrading of neighbourhoods. An expansion of the neighbourhood life-cycle model would enable planners to conceive neighbourhoods moving up the scale through spontaneous or public rehabilitation or by complete redevelopment. It would also incorporate the notion that neighbourhoods at any stage can be stable, improving, or declining, regardless of age and housing stock quality (Downs, 1979, p.65; Castells, 1977, p. 113; Smith, 1979, p. 235; Smith and McCann, 1981).

2.3.3 The Role of Community Organization and Activism

To carry out incumbent upgrading effectively, residents must organize themselves to lobby local governments for the improvement of public services and to join in actions to entice other residents to fix up their properties. Neighbourhood improvement associations are closely tied to the process of incumbent upgrading. Whether they fight to reduce the financial burden of local improvements, or to oppose freeway expansions or urban redevelopment, they are now recognized as partners in the urban decision-making process and play a major role in controlling neighbourhood transformation (Van Til, 1980).

Neighbourhood organizations created to assist in neighbourhood improvement projects may be government-sponsored or they may be private resident fund-raising efforts conducted through churches, foundations or other ethnic organizations (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). In most cases existing community organizations seek municipal support for local service improvements, building code enforcements and plans and legislation that will assure neighbourhood safety and solidarity. Most important, neighbourhood organizations are set up to monitor rezoning pressures and planning decisions with respect to undesirable neighbourhood land uses. They may be able to

forestall proposed developments that could contribute to further decline or outside intervention into neighbourhood affairs (Weiler, 1978).

Neighbourhood improvement organizations may take on roles that include local advocacy, promotion, technical assistance, real estate management, and political capacities. Once the initial advocacy role is fulfilled, organizations may assume brokerage, counselling or rehabilitative responsibilities as land and property management groups. Some neighbourhood organizations quickly move beyond informal representation into the realm of official community control or general governmental powers to veto planning decisions that go against the will of the residents.

Socially, neighbourhood organizations become a unifying force to develop close neighbourhood ties and foster a feeling of community. Special events such as block parties, neighbourhood newsletters, festivals, picnics and community suppers are expected to complement the capital expenditures in raising neighbourhood confidence and stability (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 49). Public housing policy for these areas usually aims to strengthen non-economic linkages within the community. This requires the talents of schools, churches, block clubs and other organizations to be used. The development of new neighbourhood decision-making bodies is also supported.

2.3.4 Role of Local Governments

To offset the negative effects of gentrification and to answer pleas for incumbent control, local governments can look to strengthen the effectiveness of incumbent upgrading by expanding available public resources to area residents for housing rehabilitation (Auger, 1979, p. 515). They can direct funds to the less advantaged households or apply more stringent income ceilings to ensure that public funds find their way into the hands of needy residents. Public resources and rehabilitation guidelines may also give priority consideration to those families threatened with eviction as a result of government financed rehabilitation, and thus reduce resident displacement. At a minimum, revitalization programs under the auspices of public agencies can be expected to retard the pace of residential gentrification or outside intervention to a manageable level.

Government sponsored rehabilitation programs allow neighbourhoods to have access to certain resources that would not otherwise be provided to them. For example,

incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods benefit from the regulatory powers of local governments, including government-sponsored incentives and sanctions for housing development and redevelopment. Rehabilitation subsidies to homeowners, whether in the form of grants or below-market rate loans or in the form of public improvements, also enhance the access of lower-income groups to public resources. Quite often, it is believed that citizen action precedes public action and leads to local government later defining its role in response to these popular initiatives (Clay, 1979, p. 52).

When conflicts arise among incumbents, gentrifiers and governments, they usually revolve around differences of opinion concerning building code enforcement, the disposition of vacant land, deteriorated property, property assessments and values, and the regulatory functions relating to undesirable land uses within the neighbourhood. In some instances opposition arises from city efforts to promote gentrification that is expected to cause real estate values, and thus property taxes, to rise. In contrast, civic agencies may attempt to reduce resident displacement by sensitizing tax assessors to the financial burdens of the low-income residents and allowing for tax exemptions for municipal service improvements. Local governments may also provide neighbourhood organizations with technical assistance for home repairs to ensure that housing improvements conform to minimum building code standards. As well, publicly sponsored projects for incumbent upgrading may support efforts to upgrade local parks, improve waste collection, solve parking problems, and possibly even landscape the neighbourhood through the use of tree planting and street furniture (Cassidy, 1980, p. 125). Finally, local governments may assume a mediation role between conflicting or competing interests for commercial, residential and industrial redevelopment within areas that offer scope for incumbent upgrading.

Despite neighbourhood movements for self-help then, if neighbourhood improvement policies are to be effective, local government assistance and administration are required. Yet public attempts to help residents to improve their communities have shown how difficult a task it is. At the same time, the success of publicly subsidized rehabilitation should not be measured solely by direct dollar benefits and costs to residents, city and society. The social (indirect) benefits of healthier neighbourhood conditions may be altogether more important (Varady, 1982, p. 432). These benefits

include reductions in crime, social disorder and disease and fire hazards, and increases in property values and the municipal tax base.

2.4 Appraisals of Incumbent Upgrading Projects

There are few evaluations of neighbourhood improvement programs through incumbent upgrading. The few documented impacts of such programs vary greatly, depending upon the degree of investment and size of project. The positive outcomes of incumbent upgrading vary from savings to the public purse to energy conservation, reduced urban sprawl and the promotion of neighbourhood preservation (Black, 1979, p. 9). Incumbent upgrading has also equalized investment across space and weakened the institutional mechanisms perpetuating the strong correspondence between socio-economic status and the environmental quality of neighbourhoods (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, p. 49; Sumka, 1979, p. 483). At the same time, negative neighbourhood changes have resulted from incumbent upgrading. The most dramatic, as was the case with urban renewal projects, is the gradual or spontaneous displacement of residents. High levels of real estate speculation have also been found to occur as declining properties are acquired for eventual redevelopment and as developers take advantage of municipal service upgrading (Sumka, 1979, p. 483). As desirable as the promise of incumbent upgrading may seem to declining neighbourhoods, there are aspects of the neighbourhood condition that cannot be impacted upon by either public or private improvement initiatives. Downs (1979, p.467) outlines some common limitations which overshadow public programs for incumbent upgrading:

1. Few neighbourhood improvement programs can be expected to aid all initial residents successfully.
2. Helping initial residents upgrade their community is hardest in areas of high rental population. These groups are often penalized since they must pay higher rents to remain in the area.
3. When total neighbourhood improvement occurs in an initially low-income, rental neighbourhood, it is necessary to provide poorer renters with housing subsidies to enable them to remain.
4. Not all individual households can be expected to be upgraded; some will remain in

low-status condition permanently, despite all efforts to improve their quality of life.

Rising above these constraints, there have been several notable successes of incumbent upgrading. Downs (1979, p.121) summarizes the vital accomplishments of public intervention into the incumbent upgrading process in the following way:

1. Accomplishments that symbolically represent a national concern for neighbourhood decline.
2. Accomplishments that provide financial help in the form of loans and grants and in economic planning.
3. Those accomplishments that perform the vital social function of improving social values and relationships within neighbourhoods.

Given the public intervention premise that public rehabilitation is to aim at satisfying the overall right to a higher quality of life for all citizens (Downs, 1979, p. 116), and that public loans and grants from housing agencies are necessary to ensure equal access to decent housing, there still remains the difficulty of distinguishing between theoretical or rhetorical policy proposals and real action possibilities. Unfortunately, incumbent upgrading experience has shown that public revitalization policies are usually so marginal that they do not threaten the existing inadequate institutions; nor do these policies bring about major changes to improve neighbourhood conditions. In actuality, incumbent upgrading successes have proven to be costly, and place more emphasis on isolated demonstration or model programs than on full-scale neighbourhood rehabilitation.

One of the major costs of incumbent upgrading has been the difficulty of maintaining post-rehabilitation property and service costs at a level that is affordable to incumbents. It has also been speculated that resident displacement due to project implementation is high, although evidence for this trend is hard to obtain. Movers are difficult to trace because of the drawn-out nature of housing improvements. As well, a great deal of real estate confusion and speculation surrounds all neighbourhood improvement projects.

Another point is clear; incumbent upgrading projects cause neighbourhood instability and do not normally make allowance for relocation or alternative housing placements. Yet there is a real risk that improvement activities will destabilize the neighbourhood real estate market. The current cost of municipal service installations, for

example, raises property values above those of other inner-city neighbourhoods. Consequently, investors and speculators are likely to be attracted to these areas. In addition to rising property values, housing demand is also likely to increase in an upgraded neighbourhood, since the municipal improvements enhance its attractiveness to new residents with greater expendable earnings for housing. They are willing to pay premium prices and may thus force the incumbent residents out of the neighbourhood real estate market. In many instances, incumbent upgrading has accentuated demand for neighbourhood housing soon after public investments are made (Goetz and Colton, 1980). It may not be possible to implement an improvement project in one neighbourhood without concomitantly raising the general attraction and value of properties in that neighbourhood in relation to the metropolitan housing market. In short, incumbent upgrading spurs external interest in local housing markets without meaning to do so.

In addition to the above economic and market forces, other neighbourhood factors will either aid or adversely affect the feasibility of incumbent upgrading. These have been identified by Jamieson (1984, p. 46) as; the intensity of of land use permitted under the prevailing zoning, the nature and condition of the local housing stock, public attitudes, the location of the area, building and fire code regulations, and the availability of rehabilitation financing. It is these factors that determine the financial expectation of land owners and it is he, in large part, who will decide whether or not to take part in housing rehabilitation.

There is considerable debate among planners, politicians and governments about the most effective kinds of rehabilitation programs. Some argue (Downs, 1979) that infilling is most economical and beneficial, since it mixes new houses with existing ones. Others (Goetz and Colton, 1980, p. 189-190) argue that neither new housing nor rehabilitation are economical means of revitalizing neighbourhoods. The most successful programs have been those which promote private incentives for co-operatives to undertake housing rehabilitation or those which construct new limited dividend housing programs through a combination of private and public sponsors. These partnerships may utilize revolving funds to buy houses in poor condition, restore them and make them available to households at a variety of income levels (Jamieson, 1984, p. 48). Such co-operative efforts have been most successful in middle-class residential areas, but in poorer areas they stimulate only minimal levels of housing improvement (Varady, 1982, p.

434).

In assessing benefits brought about from incumbent upgrading, it is often difficult to determine the desirable level of public subsidy which would yield maximum benefit. Some American publicly sponsored programs, such as the *Housing Assistance Supply Experiment*, assumed that neighbourhoods containing a high proportion of recipients of housing rehabilitation allowances and visible signs of housing improvements would be best able to simultaneously induce non-subsidized (private) housing rehabilitation. This assumption was found to be false. The greatest improvements to neighbourhood aesthetics and housing stock were found to occur in neighbourhoods with intermediate levels of subsidized housing rehabilitation. The American programs illustrate that public subsidy may reach a point where private investment is no longer considered worthwhile (Downs, 1979) and a negative neighbourhood psychology develops.

The accomplishments of incumbent upgrading may be more symbolic than they are meaningful planning policies. However, some argue that despite its limited success, incumbent upgrading is still less disruptive than completely private gentrification. Gentrification results in larger social costs to inumbents and to the remainder of society by eliminating low-income housing. The non-intervention rationale is envisioned to be much costlier in the longrun, and it increases the public expense for resident protection and service provision after an extended period of neighbourhood decline.

3. CANADIAN CONCEPTS OF URBAN RENEWAL AND REVITALIZATION

3.1 Urban Renewal in Canada 1944-1969

Early urban renewal projects in Canada involved the condemnation and acquisition of slum property, and its demolition to make way for the construction of public housing and related facilities. Urban renewal as public policy was directed, first and foremost, toward the restoration of slums and the prevention of blight. These directions were advocated on three broad grounds: humanitarian, aesthetic and economic (Adamson, 1968, p. 224). The germ for urban renewal legislation in Canada was contained in a provision of the 1944 National Housing Act (NHA) whereby the federal government offered to share with municipalities the cost of acquiring and clearing blighted residential areas on the condition that cleared land would be re-used for low- or moderate-cost housing to be financed by private sources (Pickett, 1968, p. 233). The 1944 Act was officially designated as **'An Act to promote the construction of new housing, the repair and modernization of existing houses, and the improvement of housing and living conditions'**. Unfortunately, this mandate was not implemented on a wide enough scale to reduce the plight of low-income groups. Yet, in line with the report of the Curtis Committee, on which the 1944 Act was based (Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, 1944, pp. 24-40), early urban renewal legislation was clearly concerned for the social consequences of slum clearance.

The Curtis Committee was of the firm opinion that a housing program of large dimensions would be necessary for Canada after World War 11. Housing construction was seen to be an important way of providing employment opportunities for those demobilized from the armed forces, as well as a productive vehicle of both public and private investment. A housing program was also necessary because Canada was lagging behind European countries in providing governmental assistance for housing as a matter of welfare and public concern (Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, 1944, p. 9). Above all, the Committee called for a greater role for government, primarily the federal government, in the housing field, particularly with respect to the provision of low-income housing units, the replacement of slum dwellings, and the elimination of overcrowding. These acknowledgements were followed in the spring of 1945 by the passage of the

CMHC Act creating a Crown corporation to administer the National Housing Act and the government of Canada's housing policy (Rose, 1980, p. 29).

Beginning in the late 1940's sporadic urban renewal projects and public housing schemes were carried out in a few centres across Canada. One of the most significant was the City of Toronto's Regent Park (North) Project which was approved in January 1947. This led to the construction of 1,062 new public housing units on a slum clearance site (Rose, 1958, p. 93) and was seen, at first, to be a grand success for public action. Later, however, some researchers (Rose, 1958, p. xii) raised fundamental questions regarding the lessons learned from the Regent Park experience. The residents had been relocated from housing conditions regarded as the most seriously inadequate in Toronto, but it was by no means certain that their health, welfare, social relationships and personal behaviour had changed positively as a result.

Urban renewal activity expanded in the 1950's. By the end of the decade, several projects were under construction across Canada. The largest were Regent Park South in Toronto and Jeanne-Mance in Montreal, but there were others in St John's, Halifax and Vancouver. Still local governments were slow to become involved, which prompted the federal government to amend the NHA in 1956 to increase its own financial participation and so, it was hoped, encourage other municipal governments to participate. The 1956 amendments also made it unnecessary for cleared urban renewal sites to be used solely for residential purposes. As long as the land was in residential use before it was cleared, it could be redeveloped for non-residential purposes. Under the influence of the American theory of comprehensive urban renewal, the close tie between housing policy and redevelopment policy was beginning to weaken in Canada.

Several additional problems emerged during the the 1950's. First, the financial burdens that municipalities faced as they brought water, sewerage and education facilities to public housing projects were escalating rapidly. These costs were burdensome enough, but often local governments were also expected to pay between 7 and 25 percent of project costs. Many municipalities did initiate public housing projects, but it was obvious that arriving at a sound national housing policy through federal-provincial-municipal negotiations would be a long and tedious affair.

During the 1960's the conception of urban renewal under public sponorship continued to broaden. CMHC supported the preparation of many urban renewal studies and detailed schemes, and also assisted in the implementation of some 100 renewal projects. However, amendments to the NHA in 1964 advanced the separation of housing and urban renewal to allow for more private investment in publicly-sponsored projects. So called 'luxury' apartments, high-rise office buildings, retail complexes, convention centres, and concert halls were built on urban renewal sites in various Canadian cities. At the same time, the title of Part III of the NHA was changed in 1964 from *urban redevelopment* to *urban renewal* and the concept of renewal was broadened to encompass the treatment of blighted areas through rehabilitation. The federal government was also committed to providing 50 percent of the cost of preparing and implementing urban renewal schemes of all kinds. Under this stimulus, interest in urban renewal accelerated rapidly in urban municipalities of all sizes. The years between 1964 and 1969 represented the peak period for urban renewal planning in Canada.

3.2 Pressures for a New Approach to Urban Renewal

There were many social and economic pressures forcing the federal government to search for a new approach to national housing policy. The main ones to be discussed are those that relate specifically to urban renewal and housing rehabilitation. These pressures included dissatisfaction with the 1964 NHA amendments, the findings of the Hellyer Task Force, the perceived failings of the public housing program, and the Lithwick and Dennis and Fish studies.

3.2.1 Dissatisfaction with the 1964 NHA Amendments

The 1964 NHA Amendments became a source of dissatisfaction both with the public and with housing practitioners. It came to be questioned why governments at any level should spend so much on urban renewal projects in which the real profits were to be made by entrepreneurs building office towers or luxury apartments or in which houses were cleared to make way for public buildings. Those opposing the new approach argued for a return to a form of urban renewal that would be focused upon improvements to housing conditions and not serve other objectives. These critics also raised significant

questions concerning slum clearance in general, and whether the social objectives of rehousing and relocation were being served by NHA policies. There was much debate about whether urban renewal projects should primarily emphasize slum clearance or whether they should be concerned with the social problems associated with rehousing low-income residents. If nothing else, the broadened approach to both urban renewal and publicly-assisted housing that was expressed in the 1964 amendments was a convincing sign of a new commitment to low-income homeowners and their plight. Provision had been made for greater contributions to a more diverse population of low-income groups, not merely those requiring 'public' housing.

Still, public pressure for a revised urban renewal policy grew because many felt that the redevelopment that was likely to be achieved under the 1964 Amendments would be too expensive and too small in scale to cope with the problem of residential deterioration in Canada. There was also a problem of providing financial assistance for housing that was run-down but not deteriorated enough to warrant demolition(Pickett, 1968, p. 243; Adamson, 1968, p. 237; Robertson, 1973, p. 46). It was at this time that the notion of large-scale rehabilitation of entire neighbourhoods began to be entertained to reduce the social and economic burden of radical resident displacement. Where previous redevelopment schemes had tended to be directed, first of all, at the worst possible areas, area rehabilitation focused on minimally deteriorated areas that could be functionally restored.

3.2.2 The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development

Conventional urban renewal came to a dramatic close in 1969 after the Hellyer Report was released (Canada, Report of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, 1969, p. 37-45). The task force was set up by the government of the day under the chairmanship of the Hon. Paul Hellyer, and its very appointment was an indication of the troubled state of federal housing policies. The mandate of the task force was to establish the requirements for and the limits of a federal role in a rapidly expanding urban Canada. The major housing concerns that it addressed may be summarized as follows:

1. The failure of financial and housing sectors and governments to provide adequate, affordable dwellings.

2. The unmet needs of large numbers of low-income families and elderly households.
3. The lack of dwelling units for rent-geared-to-income programs.
4. The poor quality of design for housing and new towns.

The Task Force recommended that housing costs be substantially reduced and that efforts be made to de-emphasize public housing in favour of alternative forms of urban development and redevelopment. Another significant contribution was a strong recommendation for additional low-income housing and mortgage financing for exisiting homes. The Report bitterly criticized the early public housing projects for their social and physical inadequacies and for their failure to solve the problem of housing cost disparities. Above all, for the purpose of this thesis, the Report was scathing in its denunciation of the intitial slum clearance- public housing approach to urban renewal as typified by Regent Park and Jeanne-Mance. However, the Report failed to discriminate between slum clearance and other renewal approaches, and so blackened the whole reputation of urban renewal (this "wondrous potion" as it was referred to in the Report) (Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, 1969, p. 13) that even the term could no longer be used. The practical outcome was that federal assistance to all forms of urban renewal was terminated immediately after the Report was issued.

3.2.3 Public Housing Program Failures

By 1970 the high administrative costs of public housing represented a huge financial burden to government, both in the form of direct subsidies to rents and in the cost of institutionalized social services to accompany the provision of public housing. The cost of project housing rose while the concentration of problem families into project areas increased public anxiety. The negative implications of project housing were apparent, and great opposition arose from residents who were targeted for relocation but preferred their existing houses and chose to defend them against demolition. A variety of economic and social conditions also demanded that housing policy move away from public housing and be reorientated toward housing conservation as a national housing policy. These conditions are summarized by Jones (1966, p. 290):

1. The rapid pace of national economic development and, in particular, the fact that construction industries were working to capacity to meet housing needs but, at the

same time, were under severe pressure of rising operating costs.

2. The shortage of urban land available for redevelopment at prices that mitigated rather than added to the cost of new housing construction.
3. The limited financial capacity of municipalities to provide essential services for the increasing population associated with general urban growth and renewal. Established municipal services had proved to be inadequate in capacity and too worn out with age to be substantially upgraded with municipal funds alone. Their replacement or improvement required large capital expenditures by all levels of government.

The need for a clear housing policy for low-income groups did not diminish, but the obstacles to redevelopment were a critical factor in steering federal policy toward housing rehabilitation and revitalization. Improvement of the low-income housing stock had been a well supported goal of urban renewal, but there was ample evidence that existing social and physical environments had been destroyed in the interests of public and private redevelopment (Willson, 1980, p. 8). This shortcoming created a need for low-income housing improvements to be established as an explicit and politically supported national housing goal.

3.2.4 Recommendations of National Housing Studies

Several important studies in the early 1970's advocated housing conservation and rehabilitation as a reliable means of ensuring that decent housing would be available for low-income groups. These studies were also significant in persuading the federal government to amend the NHA in 1973. The most influential of these studies were by Lithwick (1970) and Dennis and Fish (1972).

The Lithwick study was a condemnation of Canadian housing, planning and urban development policies. Generally speaking, the report found contemporary housing provisions to be highly inadequate and gravely anti-social and proposed government intervention into the housing market on behalf of low-income or disadvantaged individuals (Rose, 1980, p. 51). Lithwick's grim forecast of housing shortages created a sensation just as the federal government was beginning to re-interpret its role in Canadian urban affairs.

The study by Michael Dennis and Susan Fish was originally contracted by CMHC who wanted a detailed study of housing needs. As it turned out, their findings were so disturbing that the Corporation was not prepared to publish their report as a departmental document. This gesture prompted Dennis and Fish to embark on private publication to reveal their concern about high interest rates for housing, and about the housing shortages that caused a substantial segment of the Canadian population to live in inadequate housing (Rose, 1980, pp. 52-3).The report also emphasized the desperate housing needs of the poor and their blatant neglect by those interested only in rebuilding the central areas of cities without sufficient compensation for inner-city residents. The Dennis and Fish Report recommended new, fundamental solutions for the planning of social housing in Canada, beginning with the notion of a comprehensive national housing policy and its administration. They recommended that national housing goals be set out to ensure equal access to decent housing, control housing inflation, protect environmental quality, conserve and upgrade the existing housing stock, maximize the dignity and freedom of choice of the individual user of housing, and create a decision-making process that would be open to the users of housing and whose centre of authority would be close to them (Dennis and Fish, 1972, p. 349).

There is little doubt that the studies by Lithwick and Dennis and Fish were a significant factor in the amendments that were made to the NHA in 1973. By that time national housing inequalities and income constraints had reached public consciousness and led to a public expectation of major changes in federal housing policies. This was borne out in the introduction of the neighbourhood improvement and residential assistance programs, NIP and RRAP.

3.3 Evolution of Rehabilitation in Canadian Urban Renewal Literature

Housing rehabilitation was not a new notion in the 1970's (City of Calgary, 1958, p. 23-24). Rather, as defined by Rose (1966, p.5) it had long been part of the general theory of a comprehensive approach to urban urban renewal:

> [Rehabilitation is] a positive program aimed at physical improvements of structures within neighbourhoods that have deteriorated somewhat or are partially affected by blight. There is no need to accept the future prospect of a badly affected or slum area. Rehabilitation implies repair, modernization, and refurbishing of basically sound buildings which have been allowed to fall into disrepair or are partially obsolete.

As early as the 1950's comprehensive urban renewal was seen to require rehabilitation as a vital component of area improvement. If it was recognized that residential use was the most logical use for an area and that dwellings could be restored effectively, then a comprehensive rehabilitation program was possible (City of Calgary, 1958, p. 24). The principal considerations of public action were to make provision for improvements to playgrounds, schools and shops, to upgrade physical services and plant trees, to clear decrepit buildings (spot redevelopment), and to amend zoning and provide for the continuous enforcement of occupancy and maintenance codes to ensure that buildings would not deteriorate rapidly again.

As a component of NHA housing policy, rehabilitation was first conceived in one of two ways. First, it seen as leading to an equilibrium stage that could be achieved through a continuous maintenance process before more modern facilities were required. Second, rehabilitation was conceived as an essential public policy requirement in the absence of private routine and continuous maintenance and of attempts at housing improvement. The NHA, therefore, articulated a desire to induce private investment as the basis for Canadian rehabilitation programs by using public investments as demonstrations of confidence in a neighbourhood's future.

The NHA made provision for **Home Improvement Loans** and **Home Conversion Loans** (the forerunners of RRAP) as early as 1954, but there were difficulties over the financing of environmental improvements to be made by municipal governments. As a result the NHA concept of rehabilitation as an alternative to clearance and redevelopment came to incorporate the idea that the joint participation of owners and government was a critical factor in comprehensive community upgrading. These community elements were thought to be the basis for program success in Canada (Rose, 1966, p.6). Indeed, it was these more sophisicated humanistic goals of community development that distinguished rehabilitation from clearance and so gained public support. Rehabilitation was now seen as a selective upgrading process and less malevolent than redevelopment. It advocated that a greater part of neighbourhood housing stock could be preserved and improved through conscious planning and conservation. Rehabilitation was also expected to result in a mix of old and new housing structures within a neighbourhood to give residents a sense of the past and a prospect for the future rather than a feeling of uprootedness.

3.4 Early Canadian Rehabilitation Programs

Apart from the nation-wide studies of housing policy in the early 1970's, there were also a number of isolated federal government programs that experimented with new housing forms and procedures. They were primarily community-based, since local community groups were then expected to assume a larger responsibility for low-income housing. These programs included the **200 Million Innovations** under which 380 dwellings were rehabilitated with NHA assistance (Canadian Council on Social Development, March, 1973). Also, **Local Improvement Program (LIP)** grants were given to non-profit organizations to assist poor families to find accommodation in rehabilitated units. Very early in their development it was obvious that these rehabilitation programs had explict local and social goals driven by volunteer and community-based efforts for community development and anti-poverty politics (Willson, 1980, p. 1). Generally speaking, the projects were funded outside CMHC and were usually administered in the form of job creation projects for small builders.

At the provincial level the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan had developed the **Critical Home Repair Program (CHRP)** which provided a subsidy of $1,000 to individual owners for housing repairs. The government of Prince Edward Island provided similar grants during 1970 to 1973 for homeowners of substandard dwellings utilizing regional development funding. Other housing rehabilitation projects were funded under the **Canadian Assistance Plan (CAP)** which provided emergency shelter for persons in urgent need of housing.

Aside from these small-scale programs for housing improvement, CMHC took on an experimental neighbourhood rehabilitation project in the Strathcona district of Vancouver. It was put in place during February 1972, and was aimed at encouraging private property preservation and upgrading by homeowners and at improving public service facilities through public works programs (Wong, 1978, p.226). The rehabilitation area covered one hundred acres of residential land and contained 557 structures or 1,405 dwelling units. The project extended until March 1974 and provided rehabilitation assistance to 233 residential properties at an average cost of $3,000 per dwelling (Wong, 1978, p. 263). The total cost of neighbourhood public works upgrading was $2.36 million. CMHC considered the Strathcona project to be a great success in providing

financial assistance and meeting the specific housing needs of low-income homeowners. Most significantly, it enjoyed a 29 percent resident participation rate for home repairs, a rate that demonstrated to CMHC the great potential of a national rehabilitation program.

In all these early rehabilitation projects, the funding agencies worked independently to develop local or provincial schemes for housing improvement. These efforts were extremely limited in scale and duration, but they did further clarify the need for a comprehensive national policy of assistance for housing rehabilitation. They contributed to the federal government's decision to replace the urban renewal program with NIP and RRAP. These new programs were also intended to be complementary; that is, they were designed to provide different kinds of government assistance that would be applied simultaneously within designated neighbourhoods.

3.5 National Goals of NIP and RRAP

NIP and RRAP were created by an amendment to the NHA in June, 1973. In essence, the legislation made provision for a new type of cost-sharing agreement among the national, provincial, and local governments in support of planned upgrading of deteriorating neighbourhoods. Given the inequities in the Canadian housing market, the housing rehabilitation subsidies were intended to offset the high costs of private improvements while ensuring a higher quality of living environment(Rose, 1980, pp.2-3). This was all part of the new emphasis on social housing development. Specifically, the NHA (1973, Chapter 18, Part III, Section 27) set out to provide NIP funds to improve the amenities of declining neighbourhoods by upgrading their infrastructure and services while RRAP funds were offered for the improvement of the housing and living conditions of the residents in the same neighbourhoods. That is, comprehensive neighbourhood improvement was expected to require a combination of RRAP funds to assist individual homeowners in the rehabilitation and modernization of their homes through low-interest loans and grants from CMHC, and NIP funds to be spent on infrastructure improvements with community-wide benefit.

Policymakers recognized the need for careful neighbourhood analysis to ensure that rehabilitation plans or strategies presented socially and economically viable alternatives for declining areas. There was no wish to spend federal government money

on areas that would never revitalize. As described in the the **NIP Operator's Handbook** (1974, p.A-1) the first concern of a NIP and RRAP project was to ensure an extended life for neighbourhoods that were judged to be worth saving:

> The program [NIP] is not designed to be used as wholesale demolition of deteriorated buildings and the subsequent construction of massive new building projects. The intent is rather to conserve the housing stock [through the companion RRAP]; to add or rehabilitate required social and recreational amenities or municipal services; to remove blighting land use; and to promote the maintenance of the neighbourhood after the NIP project was terminated.

3.5.1 NIP Selection Criteria and Indicators of Neighbourhood Viability

NIP selection criteria emphasized several indicators of upgrading need and rehabilitation potential. Generally, these were directed at neighbourhoods in which there was a combination of moderate income households, declining housing stock, and a low standard of recreation, open-space and municipal services. Section E-4 of the **NIP Operator's Handbook** also stated that there had to be 'indicators of future neighbourhood stability present before federal funding could be made available'. Neighbourhoods with a high proportion of owner-occupied housing stock and limited redevelopment pressures were especially targeted. Conversely, high rental housing populations, high levels of out-migration, and a lack of resident comitment to neighbourhood improvement were identified as negative indicators of neighbourhood upgrading potential. Any indication that there might be major changes to neighbourhood land uses and residential densities beyond those envisioned in NIP and RRAP proposals was viewed as undesirable (NIP Operator's Handbook, 1974, p. E-4)

While NIP and RRAP were intended to assist stable neighbourhoods to avert further decline, they were also intended to benefit lower-income groups by providing housing rehabilitation assistance to enable them upgrade their existing homes. These dual goals are explict in NIP and RRAP neighbourhood selection criteria (NIP Operator's Handbook, 1974, p. B-1).

1. the area is predominantly residential;
2. housing is in need of rehabilitation;
3. other elements of the physical environment must be in need of rehabilitation;
4. the area is inhabited for the most part by low- and moderate-income households;
5. there are deficiencies in neighbourhood amenities; and

6. the area is potentially stable in terms of land use and population densities.

3.5.2 NIP Procedures

The NIP program operated on the basis of annual agreements between CMHC and the separate provincial governments. Each government then received an allocation of federal contributions and loans for re-allocation amongst selected municipalities. Municipal governments, in turn, could apply either to their provincial government or directly to CMHC for a NIP grant. The progression of events for individual NIP projects was generally expected to be completed within a four-year time span which included a six-month selection stage, a six-month planning stage and a three-year implementation stage.

NIP projects were to be administered solely on an on-site basis, without direct CMHC or federal involvement. CMHC was not to be represented on any neighbourhood committee or decision-making body.

Grant contributions to a municipality had to comply with the financial limits specified in the provincial agreement. CMHC contributed 50 percent to the cost of neighbourhood selection, plan formulation, land acquisition, and the clearance of sites to be used for open-space, community facilities, or medium or low-density housing. Furthermore, contributions of up to 50 percent were available for the cost of acquiring, constructing or improving social, commercial, or recreational facilities within designated neighbourhoods.

Provisions were also made for displaced households. CMHC was prepared to contribute 50 percent toward the costs of relocating any persons displaced in connection with NIP project implementation. CMHC was also to absorb 25 percent of the costs of municipal and public utility service improvements. Finally, CMHC could advance loans to a municipality, as long they did not exceed 75 percent of the total amount obtained for that project from the provincial contribution. The payback period for project financing was set at 25 years at a realistic interest rate.

3.5.3 RRAP Procedures

RRAP made funds available from CMHC to assist residents in the improvement of individual residences located in NIP designated areas. To be eligible, homeowners were to

earn less than $11,000 per year (1974 requirement), and there were stringent housing code and building standard requirements. RRAP assistance was also available to landlords without income restrictions, but they had to agree to freeze their rents for ten years. Housing co-operatives could obtain funds for dwelling conversions, but other individuals could not receive funding for repairs that would alter housing densities. Priority was given to repairs to the physical housing structure or its internal subsystems (e.g. heating and plumbing). Approved repairs through RRAP were expected to extend the useful life of a dwelling by at least 15 years.

Financial assistance to homeowners was to be in the form of loans which were not to exceed $5,000. The interest rate was set at 8.35 percent per annum (1974 rate). However, a portion of the loan could be forgiven to a maximum of 50 percent, dependent on the applicant's income. Loan forgiveness was reduced by one dollar for every two dollars of annual income over $6,000 to the maximum of $11,000. Landlords were similarly entitled to loans of up to $5,000 for each dwelling unit, but 50 percent could be forgiven without income restrictions. Non-profit corporations and co-operatives were eligible for the same funding as landlords, although additional assistance was offered to them for the purpose of converting existing dwellings to create greater numbers of residential units. These groups could purchase and renovate older housing accommodation anywhere in the municipality and make it available to low-income groups without location criteria.

3.5.4 The Role of Resident Participation in NIP and RRAP

NIP and RRAP set out to strengthen the residents' sense of community through citizen participation during the preparation and implementation of improvement plans. Far more than the structural components of housing and neighbourhood rehabilitation were embraced by NIP and RRAP. This approach to comprehensive neighbourhood improvement allowed for the need to safeguard and improve community assets, buildings, open-space, social services, and neighbourhood autonomy. An analysis of NIP and RRAP selection, planning and implementation criteria also makes clear that they were designed to evoke positive neighbourhood attitudes and to strengthen the community life of residents within a physical improvement program. The emphasis placed on social and functional variables

that demonstrate rehabilitation potential and neighbourhood viability, reveals the general program commitment of ensuring a standard of neighbourhood environmental quality of value to incumbent residents. As described by the NIP Operator's Handbook (1974, p. B-5) the objective was "to improve the neighbourhood in the manner which meets the aspirations of neighbourhood residents and the community at large".

Only a brief description of resident participation techniques is given in the NIP Operator's Handbook, Sections I-12 to I-15. The guidelines were deliberately intended to be flexible because of the dissatisfaction with CMHC's heavy involvement in previous urban renewal efforts. Various techniques of resident participation were therefore suggested, in the hope that each community would adopt the ones that best suited its particular aspirations. They included the dissemination of information through public meetings, resident voting on plan proposals, neighbourhood opinion surveys and the use of resident advisory groups to develop rehabilitation plans. Some NIP neighbourhoods formed joint planning committees which entered into partnerships with municipal governments and served a resident control function.

For the purposes of resident participation, a 'resident' was described as any person residing in a NIP area, including renters. Other neighbourhood groups, such as local businesses, institutions, and non-resident property owners, were also to be allowed to participate to ensure a representative voice in NIP and RRAP programming. The level of resident participation was seen to be dependent upon many local variables, among which socio-economic variables were envisioned as having the greatest influence on the degree of local organization and awareness. Special efforts were to be made to involve all residents, including passive community members, to ensure equal representation.

Although CMHC pursued citizen participation to ensure its general goal of developing more effective neighbourhood planning, it had, as a secondary goal, citizen participation as a social good in its own right. Citizen participation in NIP and RRAP was envisioned as promoting citizenship among local residents. However, CMHC cautioned municipal governments to be aware of the fact that levels of resident involvement might vary along demographic, ethnic, occupational, or housing tenure lines, and that overrepresentation by any one group could result in a misunderstanding of neighbourhood attitudes. It was CMHC's desire that rehabilitation should be steered in a direction that

would benefit the largest segment of the neighbourhood population and that interest group pressure should not be the sole determinant of a neighbourhood voice.

Local governments were further advised of the value of making use of existing neighbourhood organizations and groups as planning resources. These groups could be vital to the neighbourhood improvement process (NIP Operator's Handbook, 1974, Section I-17 and I-18) because they possessed detailed knowledge of neighbourhood issues, and were expected to have the best understanding of their neighbourhood's needs. CMHC also believed that these groups could arouse interest in revitalization during the early planning stages, and that strengthened group membership and community organization would be an important factor in the neighbourhood improvement process.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANORA NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PLAN

4.1 Recognition of Rehabilitation Need in Canora

The need for rehabilitation in Canora was first documented in a 1952 report by the Community Planning Association of Canada which recognized that the area required extensive housing improvement. This need was restated in the Edmonton Urban Renewal Study of 1965 and again in the 1971 General Plan. In response, after Canora was annexed to Edmonton in 1964, it was designated as a small scale urban renewal area under Section 21 of the City of Edmonton Zoning Bylaw No. 2135 which had been adopted in October 1961. Yet, despite this early recognition of the neighbourhood's problems the administration of urban renewal progressed slowly before Canora was designated as Edmonton's first NIP area in 1974. A key reason was that renewal projects in Alberta were severely limited under the Alberta Planning Act of the day, in the sense that the only statutory instruments were the standard development control measures, notably zoning and development schemes. Neither was well adapted to the special requirements of housing rehabilitation and neighbourhood revitalization.

The sequence of events that led to Canora's designation as a NIP area was precipitated early in 1970. A group of absentee landlords with investment holdings along the west side of 149th Street approached City Council with requests for spot rezoning and redevelopment. In their minds, Canora was already depreciated, so the only way they could see to recover their investments was to rezone the property to allow higher residential densities (Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Association, 1972). Rezoning was said to be equitable in that it would permit residents to sell their houses to developers at reasonable prices, even if they were in poor structural condition. Much of the housing along 156th Street had already been replaced by medium density apartments, and the residents and absentee landlords of 149th Street hoped to secure similar rights and profits. Realtors were applying intense pressure to residents on 149th Street, and to those on 102nd and 107th Avenues as well, to sell their homes in view of the prospect of higher density rezoning and a change in neighbourhood character.

In response, in June 1970, another group of Canora residents (primarily from the interior of the neighbourhood) met to organize themselves to counter the rezoning

demands and to present the case for neighbourhood preservation. This group of residents shortly formed the Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Association (CNIA), the main goal of which was to maintain Canora as a low-density residential area. Poor municipal services were also a serious source of neighbourhood concern. Indeed, Canora's outdated and overused services were seen as threats to resident health and safety. The group believed that property values in the interior of the neighbourhood would decrease once the neighbourhood was bounded by apartments on three of its four sides. They also feared that housing conditions would deteriorate as land uses intensified and property values increased, thus adding to neighbourhood instability (Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Association, 1972 p. 1).

In January 1971, the Municipal Planning Commission reacted to the rezoning applications by recommending that a plan be prepared for Canora, both to address the problem of deterioration and to provide for the consolidation of neighbourhood land uses. This recommendation was approved by City Council on January 26, 1971. As part of the planning exercise, the City Planning Department was requested to undertake a detailed survey of Canora to uncover all residential and social problems. The CNIA also requested that the City of Edmonton survey the residents to determine their individual concerns about land uses and neighbourhood problems. This survey was conducted during the summer of 1971, under the direct aegis of the CNIA and the City Planning Department. Based on the responses, the following recommendations were presented to Edmonton City Council in October 1971:

1. Every street and lane should be paved as soon as posssible.
2. Any plan for improvement should aim to retain Canora as a low-density residential area.
3. Buildings and yards should be adequately maintained through the enforcement of existing bylaws.
4. Future neighbourhood plans should include recreation and park space improvements.
5. Certain streets and avenues should be closed along major arteries to reduce through traffic.
6. No new buildings larger than duplexes should be constructed.
7. The traffic problem along 149th Street should be given immediate attention.

8. The City should continue to encourage active resident participation in planning.

Traffic was a particular source of concern with the residents. In September 1971 the CNIA had requested that the City of Edmonton Traffic Department monitor traffic volumes within the neighbourhood to establish the origins and destinations of motorists. When this was done, it was found that there was an extremely high volume of rush hour traffic through Canora. The CNIA had been hoping all along that it would be possible to reroute traffic around Canora, and the planners agreed that the street network should certainly be altered.

4.2 Development of a Plan for Municipal Improvements

From October, 1971 until March, 1972 the CNIA and the City Planning Department worked together to develop proposals for environmental rehabilitation. A large proportion of the neighbourhood population demonstrated their interest in neighbourhood upgrading at the public meetings. After a long period of discussion, a concept plan was developed under the title of *Canora: A Program For Neighbourhood Improvement*. The report was released in June 1972, but it was not adopted by Edmonton City Council until December 18, 1972.

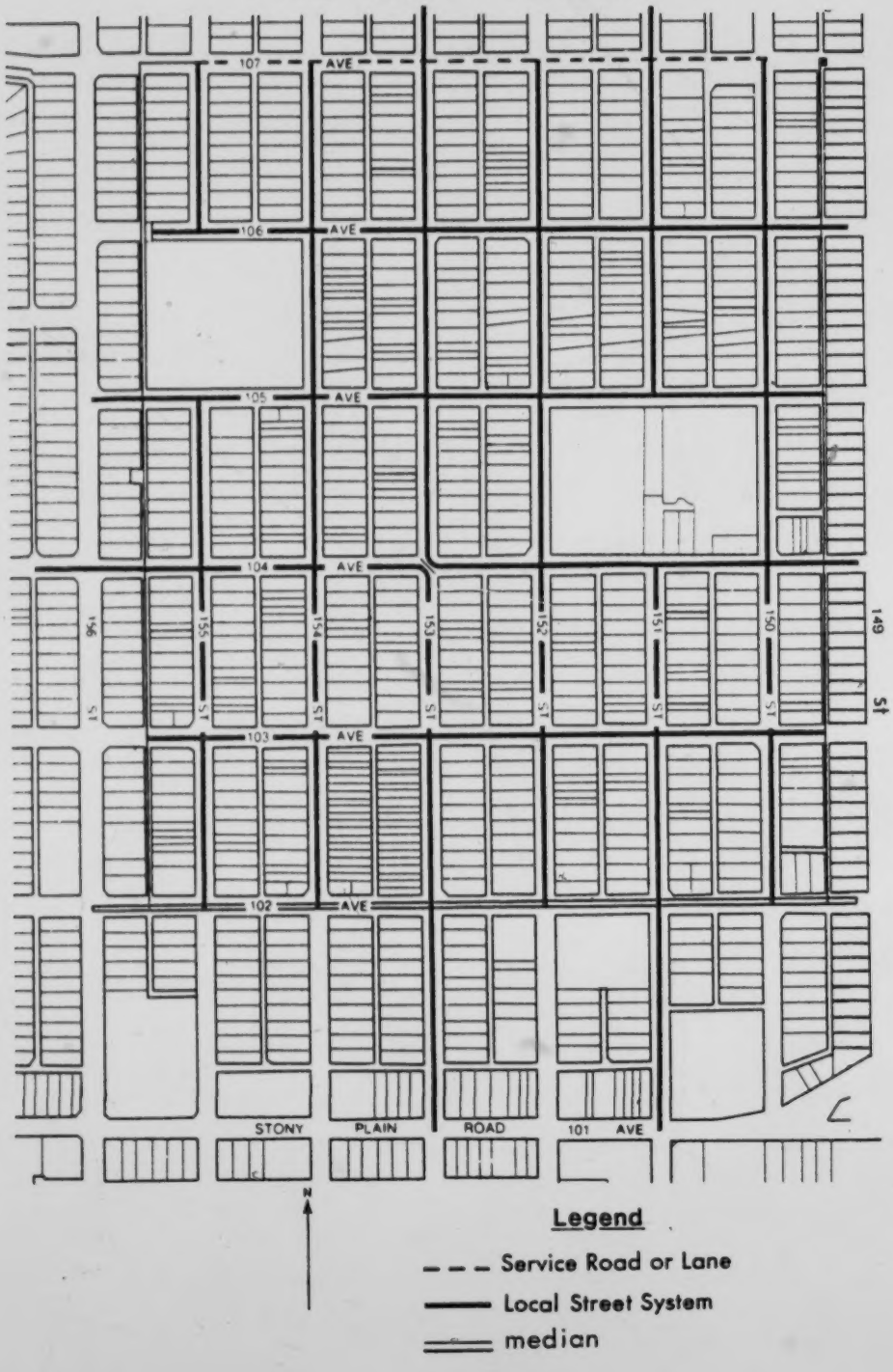
The plan committed the City of Edmonton to a variety of physical improvements in the Canora neighbourhood, such as paving the remaining unpaved streets, installing new sidewalks, curbs and street lighting, and extending the storm sewer drainage system to every property. In fact, some improvements to storm sewer construction and street paving were underway by by the spring of 1972, before the Canora plan was adopted. In addition to roadway improvements and traffic controls, the plan recommended improvements to the traffic circulation system, to neighbourhood parks and open space, and to the local schools.

4.2.1 Changes to Neighbourhood Traffic Circulation

In an attempt to discourage non-neighbourhood use of the internal streets, the plan proposed that the gridiron system be modified to limit access from the boundary streets and to prevent overspill parking from the commercial strip along Stony Plain Road. The plan (Figure 4.1) was to designed allow traffic to flow in a north-easterly direction in order

Figure 4.1

TRAFFIC CIRCULATION
TWO-WAY SYSTEM



to provide local residents with easy access to work and shopping facilities, while limiting through traffic by a number of road closures along 107th and 102nd Avenues and similarly along 149th and 156th Streets. The main access onto 107th Avenue was to be located at the northeastern corner of the neighbourhood to ease early-morning rush-hour traffic and still provide easy access into the neighbourhood during evening hours. In fact the majority of residents (73 percent) wanted the Engineering Department to close all direct access along 107th Avenue (Canora Report 1972, p. 19) but this was thought to be unrealistic. In detail, the proposals to improve neighbourhood traffic circulation were as follows:

1. Road closures at 105th Avenue and 103rd Avenue on 149th Street and at 106 Avenue and 103rd Avenue on 156th Street.
2. Construction of centre median on 102nd Avenue from 149th Street to 156th Street.
3. Construction of a forced turn traffic control device at 104th Avenue and 153rd Street. This was to break the direct flow of through traffic between 107 Avenue and Stony Plain Road and between 149th and 156th Streets.
4. The closure of the centre median along 107th Avenue at 150th, 152nd, 154th, and 155th Streets.
5. The construction of right turn lanes on 102nd Avenue and on 149th and 156th Streets.

In addition, in the expectation that 107th Avenue would have to be widened in the future to facilitate traffic connections to Highway 16 West, the City embarked on a program to acquire residential lots to the north and south of that arterial as they became available. The Canora plan also provided for a service road or lane parallel to 107th Avenue to accommodate internal neighbourhood traffic. Similarly, it was expected that 149th Street would have to be widened to accommodate the increase in traffic resulting from the opening of the Quesnell Bridge. The section of 149th Street between Stony Plain Road and 107th Avenue was especially narrow (66 feet right-of-way) and land expropriation on each side for roadway widening was anticipated.

4.2.2 Improvements to Parks and Recreation Facilities

According to the City of Edmonton Parks Master Plan for 1972, Canora had 5.9 acres of park space but it required 7.5. To make up this deficiency, the following additions were proposed in the Canora plan (Figure 4.2):

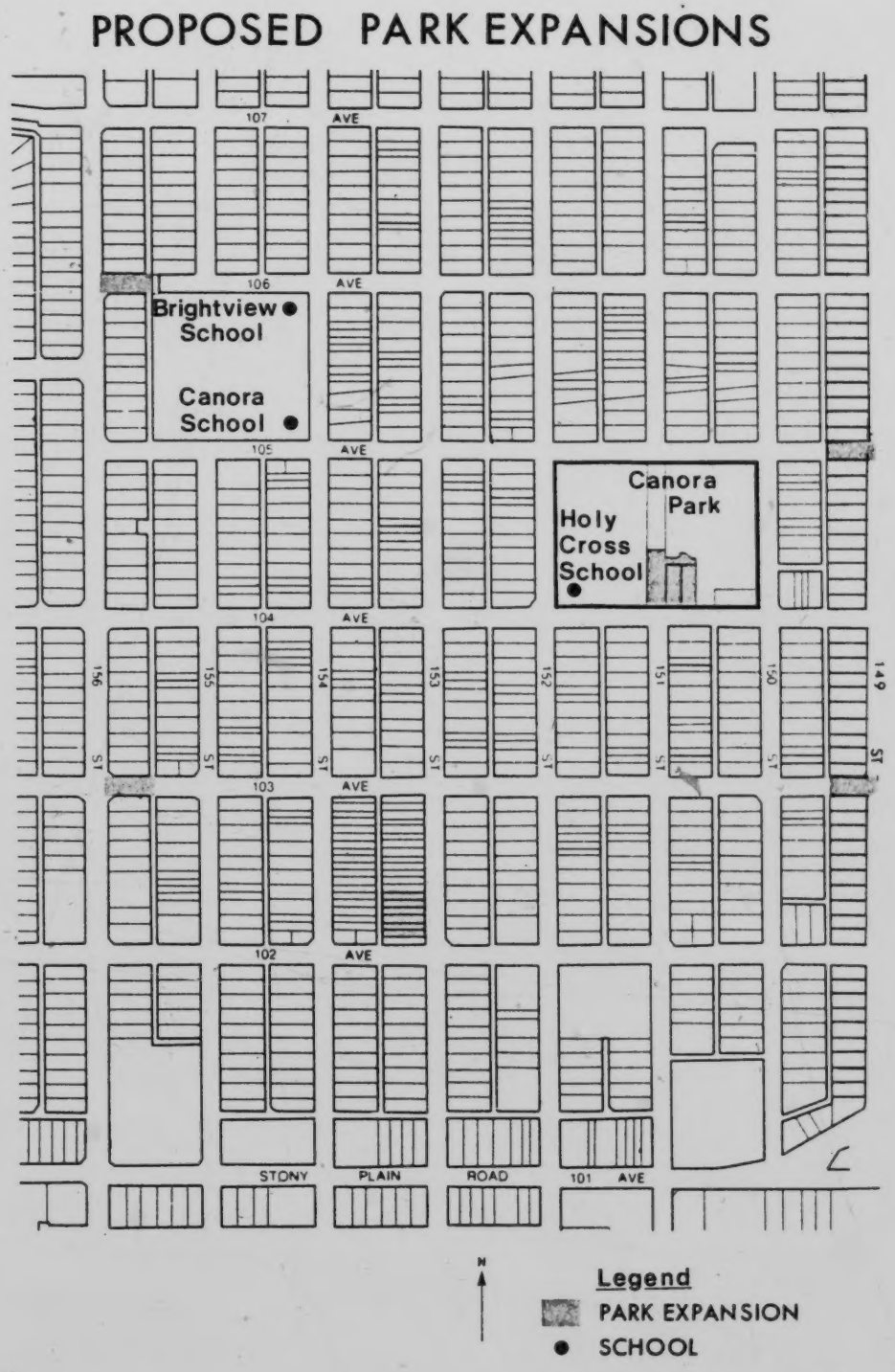
1. To acquire two residential lots adjacent to the existing Canora park. When consolidated with the stub of the 151 Street closure, 0.7 acres of park land would be gained.
2. To acquire the former church site at 153rd Street and 102nd Avenue which would add 0.8 acres of park space.
3. To use the proposed roadway closures on 103rd and 105th Avenues at 149th Street, and 103rd and 106th Avenues at 156th Street as recreational areas, providing the neighbourhood with an additional 0.9 acres of park space.

"Tot-lot" or "vest-pocket" parks were also suggested as a means of creating recreational space within the restricted confines of older neighbourhoods , particularly those encroached upon by walk-up apartment developments. If Canora were to gain substantial numbers of residents, through redevelopment, it was realized that recreational opportunities would have to be provided for rental households.

4.2.3 Improvements to Neighbourhood School Facilities

The Canora plan recommended that additional classrooms be provided to accommodate an increase in neighbourhood population. It was expected that forthcoming housing revitalization, redevelopment and higher density development would tax the existing facilities and create overcrowding in local schools. The Edmonton Separate and Public School Boards both expressed concern over the potential increases in enrolment that would result from R-4 (walk-up apartment) rezoning regulations. The school boards had accepted the conclusion that as households in walk-up apartments mature, they rear more and more school age children. Overcrowding was seen as the outcome, since all the existing school facilities in the vicinity (Brightview, Canora, Britannia, Jasper Place Composite High School, Holy Cross Elementary and Junior High School, and Archbishop MacDonald High School) were operating over their capacity. In addition to classroom shortages some of the school facilities were in poor physical condition and there were

Figure 4.2


PROPOSED PARK EXPANSIONS
107 AVE
106 AVE
Brightview School
Canora School
105 AVE
Canora Park
Holy Cross School
104 AVE
156 ST
155 ST
154 ST
153 ST
152 ST
151 ST
150 ST
149 ST
103 AVE
102 AVE
STONY PLAIN ROAD
101 AVE
N
Legend
PARK EXPANSION
SCHOOL

concerns about the safety of students.

Within Canora it was expected that the Canora Elementary School would have to be demolished and the students transferred to Brightview, where 8 additional classrooms were to be constructed (Figure 4.2).

4.3 The Canora Development Scheme Bylaw No. 3975

The recommendations for municipal action put forward in *Canora: A Program for Neighbourhood Improvement* were sustantial and vital to the task of physical upgrading. On their own, however, they did not address the most serious issues: the quality of the housing stock and the protection of Canora as a reservoir of low-cost family housing. It was therefore necessary to be able to control private development actions as well, and, above all, to prevent major changes in land use. This led the planners to recommend that a development scheme bylaw would be the most appropriate procedure for enforcing the Canora plan. Development schemes were seen as a comprehensive way of giving direction to future development activities, while remaining flexible enough to resist redevelopment pressures where they were judged to be inappropriate in relation to community aspirations.

The authority to adopt a development scheme bylaw was derived from Section 114 of the Alberta Planning Act, 1963. Among other things, this permitted municipal councils to acquire, assemble, consolidate, subdivide, sell or lease land for public purposes or to reserve land for future public acquisition. More specifically, by adopting a development scheme bylaw municipal councils could acquire by expropriation or otherwise any land or buildings that were essential to the implementation of the scheme or that might be injuriously affected by it (Alberta Planning Act, 1963, c.43, s.117). Development scheme bylaws were also expected to specify the manner in which the designated land was to be used or subdivided, and to regulate or even prohibit forms of construction or land use that interfered with the development scheme objectives. In short, when properly used, the development scheme bylaw was an extremely powerful form of planning control.

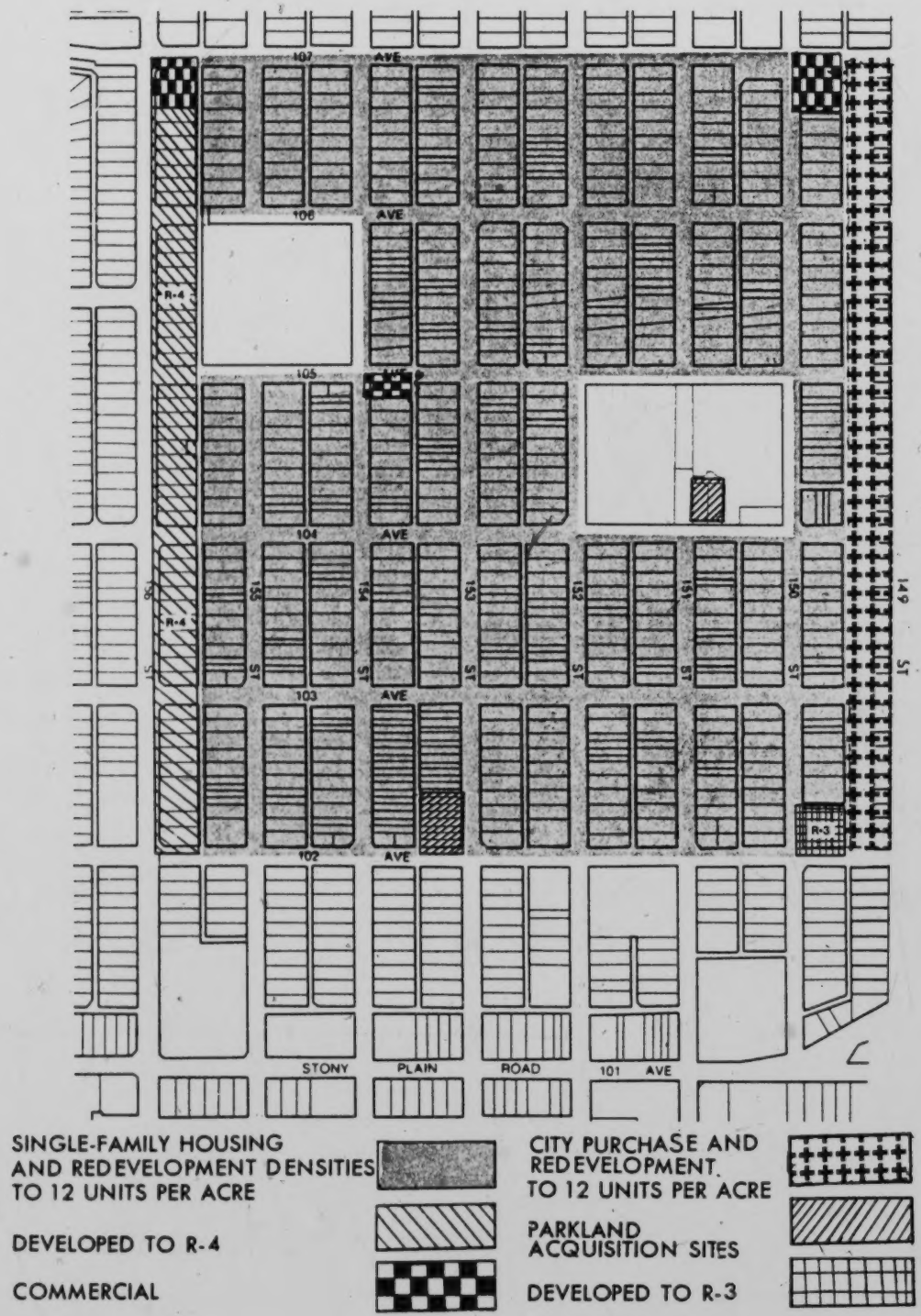
The Canora development scheme bylaw (No. 3975) which was adopted by Edmonton City Council on December 18, 1972, was based upon the development plan in

Canora, A Program for Neighbourhood Improvement (Figure 4.3). It sanctioned the compulsory purchase of several parcels of land, including 49 lots along 149th Street. The front portion of this property was to be used for road widening purposes, and the remainder was to be developed by either public agencies or private developers, for residential uses at a density not to exceed 12 units per acre (Canora Report, 1972, p. 35). This was seen as a way of recouping some of the City of Edmonton's share of the physical improvement costs (Canora Report, 1972, p. 27). An additional 4 lots along 107th Avenue were to be purchased in order to construct a road median. The bylaw also made provision for the desired new recreation space by granting the power of compulsory purchase over the 8 lots that were to designated in the plan for tot-lot parks (City of Edmonton Bylaw 3975, 1972, p. 4). Additional green space was to be provided through the system of road closures that were were to be erected at 103rd and 105th Avenues on 149th Street and at 103rd and 106th Avenues on 156th Street.

Residential land uses were to be governed according to R-1 regulations. As a matter of right, R-1 zoning permitted one-family dwellings, public parks and schools, and buildings and uses that were accessory to these major uses (Canora Report, 1972, p. 45). In addition, other relatively low-density forms of housing such as duplexes or semi-detached and row houses could be permitted at the discretion of the Development Officer to a maximum density of 12 units per acre. The site area for each detached unit was not to be less than 5,000 square feet, and for semi-detached or duplex units 7,000 square feet. Public facilities such as police and fire stations, hospitals, and public utility buildings and installations were also permissible in R-1 districts as conditional uses. Existing walk-up apartment zoning (R-4) along 156th Street, the minor arterial, and in the southeastern corner of the neighbourhood(R-3), were allowed to remain. Similarly, existing zoning for neighbourhood commercial use was left unaltered. In all cases where permission for discretionary land uses was granted the Development Officer was to consult with local residents and grant all those concerned a right to appeal to the Development Appeal Board.

Figure 4.3

ELEMENTS OF THE CANORA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME BYLAW, 1972



4.4 Opposition to the Proposed Development Scheme

Upon the release of the Canora Report in June 1972, opposition arose from absentee landlords who felt that it did not represent the opinions of all parties interested in Canora's future development. By then, however the Report had been endorsed by the City Commission Board, who also recommended that CMHC be approached to provide federal assistance for home improvements and that the CNIA be granted official status as the neighbourhood voluntary association (Edmonton Journal, April 20 1972, p. 9). From that date the CNIA was assigned the role of representing the residents of Canora in the implementation of planned actions that invited, involved or required residents to have responsibility in the decision-making process. This official recognition angered the absentee landlords who had formed their own group called the Canora Property Owners Association (CPOA). In essence, the CPOA wanted to uphold the Edmonton practice of rezoning properties along major arteries to walk-up apartment densities.

It may be said that the CNIA and the CPOA represented in microcosm the opposing sentiments of redevelopment and rehabilitation then at large in Canada. The CPOA felt that land values were higher than housing values in Canora and should therefore demand redevelopment on economic principles alone. On the other hand, the CNIA pressed for strict limits on the amount of higher density redevelopment that would be permitted. Their preference was for an active program of incumbent rehabilitation to maintain Canora as a place to be valued by the existing residents. Neither side was willing to compromise, and given this impasse it was left to Edmonton City Council to choose between the two views (Edmonton Journal, December 2, 1972, p. 29).

In October 1972 City of Edmonton planners held public meetings to hear residents views on the proposed Development Scheme Bylaw. At this time it became apparent that the CNIA was most representative of local interests and that the CPOA had little neighbourhood support or foundation. For example, all the CPOA representations to Edmonton City Council on October 23, 1972 were made by absentee landlords. Yet, despite their lack of local support, the CPOA did succeed in postponing Council's decision on the proposed bylaw and was given time to prepare a counter-proposal.

The CPOA expressed alarm at the apparent naivete of the proposals for neighbourhood improvement in the Canora plan. It was claimed that these proposals were

far too optimistic given the quality of Canora's housing stock. The CPOA estimated that 300 dwellings were too far below standard to warrant rehabilitation (Edmonton Journal, May 17, 1972, p.55). Under great pressure, the Edmonton City Council granted the CPOA an opportunity to survey local residents and attempt to change their minds about the validity of the development scheme proposals.

By November 15, 1972 a great deal of confusion prevailed. The CNIA claimed that the CPOA had used force and intimidation to gain support. Counter claims were made by the CPOA that many Canora residents had been persuaded to the rehabilitation options by misleading information about future assessment tax relief and money bylaws [NIP and RRAP] that had not yet been approved. Furthermore, the CPOA felt that maintaining the current situation in Canora would only promote further neighbourhood decline and hinder progress towards upgrading and development (Edmonton Journal, November 15, 1972, p. 72).

To intensify their opposition, the CPOA sought legal counsel to determine whether or not Edmonton City Council had the authority to regulate the location, erection and use of buildings without passing a general bylaw rather than an exclusionary bylaw requiring a permit for redevelopment in a particular neighbourhood (CPOA Submission to Edmonton City Council, October 23, 1972, p. 5). The CPOA also claimed that the Canora Development Scheme Bylaw would transform the authority to regulate neighbourhood land use by legislation into a mere administrative and discretionary power. Zoning bylaws were to be administered without discrimination and the CPOA argued that Council did not have the power either to exercise directly or to confer upon an official (the development officer) the authority to discriminate between individuals in the application of a bylaw (CPOA Submission to City Council, October 23, 1972, p. 1). Thus, the CPOA believed that the Canora Development Scheme was neither legal nor truly reflective of the wishes of the majority of property owners in Canora. Indeed, it was far from certain that all Canora's residents would be willing to rehabilitate their homes. For all the vigor of their efforts, however, the CPOA did not have adequate legal grounds to impress their wishes onto Edmonton City Council.

The choice at the heart of the Canora dispute was summed up in the Edmonton Journal (December 8, 1972, p. 58) just days prior to Council's decision to accept the

Canora Report and adopt the Development Scheme Bylaw.

> The question must be whether a neighbourhood like Canora should be changed radically through redevelopment resulting in an influx of a new group of residents with higher incomes, who can afford new accommodation or, whether the total housing stock of the City must allow areas of reasonably priced housing to remain and be protected and improved, offering a respectable residential environment to families of low-income groups desiring homeownership.

The Canora plan had been conceived with the latter option as its goal. Beyond that, however, two factors seemed chiefly to influence the City Council. The first was the organized strength of the CNIA which had adopted a constitution, was registered under the Societies Act, had elected an executive and had quickly taken in more members that the Canora Community League. An effective resident organization was viewed as evidence of a strong commitment to remain and invest in Canora's future. The second factor was the anticipation that 'future housing rehabilitation funding would be available from senior levels of government' (Edmonton Journal, December 19, 1972, p. 27). This, of course, was a reference to the imminent amendments to the National Housing Act. Fortuitously, the Canora plan and development scheme bylaw had been conceived in the spirit of NIP and RRAP.

4.5 The Designation of Canora as a NIP Project

The possibilty of receiving CMHC funding for Canora's improvement was explictly stated in the Edmonton City Council minutes for October 9, 1972, pointing to some degree of speculation on the part of city planners that these funds would indeed be forthcoming. The minutes document the following resolution:

> That application be made to CMHC and Alberta Housing Corporation to designate Canora as a Neighbourhood Improvement area under the National Housing Act, and that formal application with costs be prepared by the Commission Board for submission to Council, and transmittal to the Alberta Housing Corporation and CMHC, for funding under the 1973-1974 appropriation.

In March, 1973, a joint submission was made to CMHC by the CNIA and the City of Edmonton for a grant of $29,500 under Part V of the NHA. With these funds it was possible to undertake a neighbourhood need survey to fulfill CMHC project requirements and, simultaneously, to raise resident awareness about neighbourhood decline and encourage resident interest for a housing improvement program. CMHC allocated these 'start-up' funds for the Canora project in late March 1973, under the management of

representatives from the City of Edmonton, the CNIA Executive, and CMHC. In June 1973, a Canora Project Office was offically opened to provide a storefront access for resident inquiries and the dissemintión of information. A rehabilitated house was chosen for the project office tó demonstrate the possiblities for housing improvement in Canora.

During the winter of 1973-74 the CNIA worked with the respective civic departments to draw up a budget that would satisfy CMHC grant and loan allocations. Their report and recommendations were included in a document entitled *Canora 1974-1976*. This began by accepting the improvement plan presented in the Canora Report and the Development Scheme Bylaw. The costs of implementing this plan were then calculated (the total cost column, in Table 4.1, and distributed among the three levels of government in accordance with CMHC's cost-sharing formulas. The resultant budget was accepted by Edmonton City Council on May 14 1974, and by CMHC on August 14, 1974. Canora was then granted a Certificate of Eligibility and approval from CMHC to begin extensive neighbourhood improvements by September 1, 1974.

The total public cost of implementing the NIP plan was set at $3,617,048. This was broken down into a maximum federal contribution of $1,011,250, a provincial contribution of $1,421,035 and a municipal contribution of $969,012. The remaining $215,751 was to be raised through a local improvement tax on the Canora residents. It represented 25 percent of the estimated cost of lane paving, curbs and sidewalks, and lane and street lighting.

4.6 Edmonton's Minimum Occupancy and Maintentance Standards Bylaw No. 4087

On May 27, 1974 the City of Edmonton adopted a minimum property standards bylaw under the authority of the Municipal Government Act (R.S.A. 1970, C. 246, S. 239). This was required by all cities applying for NIP and RRAP funding, to ensure that local property standards were in agreement with national building codes. A minimum property standards bylaw is intended, first and foremost, to prescribe standards for the maintenance and occupation of property and to prohibit habitation of any property that does not conform to these standards (City of Edmonton Bylaw 4087, May 27, 1974, p. 1). Municipal councils must then assume the responsibility of policing the properties under their jurisdiction and of securing repairs to those properties that do not conform to

TABLE 4.1

CANORA IMPLEMENTATION BUDGET: 1974-1976
SCHEDULING, GROSS PROGRAM COSTS, AND COST SHARING FORMULA

PROGRAM/PRIORITY	TOTAL COST	COST SHARING FORMULA							
		FEDERAL		PROVINCIAL		MUNICIPAL		CANORA	
		$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1. Implementation Staff	$ 186,755.00	$ 93,377.50	50	$ 74,702.00	40	$ 18,675.50	10		
2. Implementation Office	62,908.00	31,454.00	50	25,163.20	40	6,290.80	10		
3. C.N.I.A.	18,600.00	9,300.00	50	7,440.00	40	1,860.00	10		
4. Lane Paving	136,998.00	34,249.50	25	34,244.50	25	34,249.50	25	$ 34,249.50	25
5. Sidewalks and Curbs	620,038.00	155,009.50	25	155,009.50	25	155,009.50	25	155,009.50	25
6. Lane Lighting	19,200.00	4,800.00	25	4,800.00	25	4,800.00	25	4,800.00	25
7. Street Lighting	86,770.00	21,692.50	25	21,692.50	25	21,692.50	25	21,692.50	25
8. Canora Park Site	292,125.00	146,062.50	50	116,850.00	40	29,212.50	10		
9. Adult Park	115,425.00	57,712.50	50	46,170.00	40	11,542.50	10		
10. Small Parks	67,200.00	33,600.00	50	26,880.00	40	6,720.00	10		
11. Senior Citizen Housing	347,500.00	173,750.00	50	139,000.00	40	34,750.00	10		
12. Community Housing	173,250.00	86,625.00	50	69,300.00	40	17,325.00	10		
13. 107 Ave. Land Acquisition	286,500.00			143,250.00	50	143,250.00	50		
14. 107 Ave. Buffer	30,250.00	15,125.00	50	12,100.00	40	3,025.00	10		
15. 149 St. Land Acquisition	844,950.00			422,475.00	50	422,475.00	50		
16. 149 St. Buffer	36,300.00	18,150.00	50	14,520.00	40	3,630.00	10		
17. Miscellaneous Road Improvements	63,190.00	15,797.50	25	15,797.50	25	31,595.00	50		
18. Relocation Assistance	35,550.00	17,775.00	50	14,220.00	40	3,555.00	10		
19. Contingency Fund	193,539.00	96,769.50	50	77,415.60	40	19,353.90	10		
TOTAL	$3,617,048.00	$1,011,250.00		$1,421,029.80		$ 969,011.70		$ 215,751.50	

prescribed standards. As the ultimate penalty, any sites not maintained to the minimum standard may be cleared of all buildings and structures and left in a graded and level condition (City of Edmonton Bylaw 4087, 1974, p. 1).

Once Bylaw 4087 was in force no one was to be permitted to use a dwelling which did not conform to the prescribed standards, nor was anyone to occupy a room unless it met the requirements of the bylaw. Bedrooms were to be a minimum of 60 square feet. Size and quality regulations for bathrooms, kitchens, heating systems, electrical wiring, yards, drainage, foundations and landscaping were also outlined. Under this code, Canora fell far short of an adequate housing stock, so site clearance assistance was to be provided under NIP for those homeowners living in grossly substandard buildings. Loans and grants were available for household relocation and CMHC was also prepared to contribute 25% of the cost of acquiring and demolishing buildings, less the market value of cleared land.

In Canora, two kinds of housing demolition were anticipated. First, approximately 42 housing units were to be demolished on 149th Street and 107th Avenue for road widening; second, 26 units in the interior were scheduled to be demolished because of code violations (Canora 1974-1976, 1974, p. 53). The cost of rehabilitating severely substandard housing was often judged to be too great for residents and absentee landlords to afford. In addition, it had to be expected that some residents would not be willing to assume high RRAP loans and would allow their properties to decline further.

Relocating those households whose homes had been acquired for site clearance was covered by CMHC in the form of an allowance of $500 per displaced household. A total of 68 relocation allowances were anticipated in the budget (Canora 1974-1976, 1974), as well as some compensation for senior citizens who were to be moved to the Alberta Housing Senior Citizen Project (Canora Arms) built in 1972. Other displaced residents were expected to be rehoused in public housing projects in instances where they could not make alternative housing arrangements for themselves. Beyond the $500 allowance, however, there was no clear policy of assistance for those households forced to move as a result of site clearance and demolition. Nor is there any evidence of follow-up studies for those displaced by demolition, or any indication of emergency shelter provisions in instances where housing rehabilitation or redevelopment required

temporary household evacuation until renovations were completed or new accommodation could be provided.

4.7 Citizen Participation in the Canora Improvement Project

In the CNIA Canora had a ready-made community organization of the kind desired by CMHC for all NIP areas. The Canora plan therefore fell to be implemented through a partnership between the civic administration, which provided professional expertise, and the CNIA which was expected to uphold community interests and to pursue the following community development tasks:

1. To gather detailed information to determine the need and scope of housing rehabilitation in Canora.
2. To encourage the involvement of residents in the planning of neighbourhood parks, recreation facilities, traffic circulation, and social service delivery systems.
3. To provide an opportunity for Canora residents to become involved in civic government, community development and local leadership.
4. To carry out a demonstration rehabilitation project.
5. To establish a neighbourhood office out of which the CNIA and the City could supervise planning activities.
6. To give consultation for implementing plan proposals and to act as a voice for neighbourhood residents (through the block representatives and resident committees). The CNIA was to address the impact of administrative decisions, property standard code enforcements, development control regulations, and the implementation of roadway improvements on residents.

It was further assumed that carrying out these tasks would enable a high proportion of Canora residents to be kept informed of planning proposals, and that this, in turn, would have significant influence on decision-making processes. The CNIA's role was to be one of ensuring that private initiatives and municipal improvements were equally conducted to the satisfaction of resident committees set up to oversee NIP project development.

Four resident committees were created to serve as subcommittes of the CNIA. Each was to focus on selected neighbourhood issues and to present its findings to the

CNIA executive. There was a local improvement committee to oversee lane paving and lighting; a parks and recreation committee to oversee school park sites and road closure beautification; a traffic committee to monitor traffic circulation in Canora and the design of buffer zones; and a senior citizens committee to lobby for senior citizen housing through an agreement with the Alberta Housing Corporation under CNIA management. The activities of these volunteer committees were coordinated by a hired coordinator who organized meetings with civic department personnel, city planners and other committees.

5. REVITALIZATION AND CHANGE IN CANORA

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, recent incumbent upgrading studies caution that unless policy-makers are aware of the specific mechanisms at work in a neighbourhood housing market, they may inadvertently promote plans that have a destabilizing effect, rather than a stabilizing one. As Goetz and Colton (1980, p. 191) suggest, there may be instances where publicly assisted or subsidized housing programs actually result in changes that aid the *gentry* in taking over a neighbourhood from absentee landlords and low-income residents, displacing the latter. This illustrates the general point that neighbourhood change occurs in a manner that is not always clear during plan development or implementation. There are few theories in place to explain or explore all dimensions of neighbourhood change amongst all interested parties, including community residents, tenants, landlords, commercial developers and government agencies.

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of elements of the planned physical improvements in Canora and their social impact. The voluminous general literature which discusses the direct and indirect costs and benefits of public intervention into the neighbourhood improvement process raises a variety of commonly occuring physical and socio-economic consequences from such intervention. However, this ex-post evaluation of the Canora project is not intended to serve as a detailed cost-benefit analysis of either the NIP and RRAP proposals or of private initiative in neighbourhood upgrading. No attempt is made to priorize or weight the importance of each intended change or to discuss the financial criteria used by NIP and RRAP in determining neighbourhood selection. These assessments are made elsewhere (Rostum, 1976; Social Policy Research Associates, 1979; Willson, 1980). The analysis will be focused on the general social, environmental and economic dimensions of neighbourhood improvement to determine if there were any shortcomings in the conception of the improvement plan or the way in which it was implemented. The general objective of the ex-post evaluation is to assess the ability of the NIP and RRAP proposals to address the expressed needs and aspirations of Canora residents, and to disclose any noteworthy areas of planning conflict or inconsistencies in the visions of residents and planners or in their articulation of upgrading

potential in Canora. The investigation proceeded on the assumption that the potential for housing rehabilitation and positive neighbourhood change was limited in Canora, given the poor quality of the housing stock and the high degree of absentee landlord involvement. These limitations may have made the visions for incumbent upgrading unrealistic.

5.2 Metropolitan Influences Impacting Neighbourhood Change in Canora

Analysis of neighbourhood change in Canora cannot be undertaken in isolation from the larger metropolitan system. Therefore, the general socio-economic forces active in Edmonton at the time of the Canora NIP plan are worthy of note to gain a fuller understanding of those change agents influencing housing trends in Canora. The most significant force was the Edmonton real estate boom from 1973 to 1981, which coincided with the implementation stages of the Canora project (i.e. 1974-1978). By 1981, housing prices in Edmonton had risen sharply, from an average of $23,914 in 1973 to $88,623 (Table 5.1).

The effects of this inflationary real estate market were tremendous First, the standing stock of housing in Edmonton became more attractive, both as accommodation for moderate-income families and as potential redevelopment sites. At the same time, however, the pressures on the market acted to decrease the supply of modestly-priced housing in Edmonton. Second, the cost of new housing rose an average of 10 per cent per year, which squeezed many moderate-income home buyers out of the new housing market and forced them to consider existing housing options. Third, to compound these problems, Edmonton's rental housing markets were tight, rental accommodation was scarce and apartment vacancies across the city were at an extremely low rate (Table 5.2), all of which imposed further limits on housing opportunities for low-income families in Edmonton. Developers also saw this as an excellent time to purchase single-family residential properties with the intention of redeveloping them to provide additional rental units. Hence, as the costs of homeownership and rents both rose, and as housing demand and shortages grew, so there emerged a sizable market for older affordable housing or minimally affordable lots for redevelopment. In Canora, both these trends were prevalent in the 1970s along with the added promise of public assistance to upgrade municipal services and facilities.

TABLE 5.1

AVERAGE COST OF HOME OWNERSHIP IN EDMONTON

1973-1981

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Average Selling Price	$23,914	$31,783	$38,362	$52,517	$60,244	$66,657	$74,453	$78,914	$88,623
Down Payment[1]	2,391	3,178	3,836	5,252	6,024	6,666	7,445	7,891	8,862
Mortgage[2]	21,523	28,605	34,526	47,465	54,220	59,991	67,008	71,023	79,721

NOTE: Percentage change in housing prices from 1971 to 1981 was 370 percent.

1. Equal to 10% of average selling price.

2. Average selling price minus down payment.

ADAPTED FROM:

City of Edmonton Statistical Review, Vol. 1, The Edmonton Area Environment 1976-1981, Corporate Planning Office, December 1982, p. 53.

TABLE 5.2

APARTMENT VACANCY RATE*
EDMONTON METROPOLITAN AREA
1973-1981

YEAR	VACANCY RATE (APRIL)
1973	0.1
1974	0.1
1975	0.1
1976	0.0
1977	0.2
1978	0.8
1979	3.0
1980	2.7
1981	2.4

NOTE:

*Based on approximately 85% of the apartment buildings which had 6 or more self-contained units, and were at least 6 months old at the time the survey was taken.

ADAPTED FROM:

City of Edmonton Statistical Review, Vol. 1, The Edmonton Area Environment 1976-1981, Corporate Policy Planning Office, December 1982, p. 54.

In sum, the real estate boom, coupled with a metropolitan housing shortage, created a higher demand for Edmonton's housing stock in general and, by extrapolation, Canora's housing stock. It can therefore be inferred that there was a new external pressure on Canora's housing market at exactly the time that the houses and their environs were being improved through a public investment program. It may be safely assumed, then, that metropolitan real estate forces helped shape Canora's neighbourhood revitalization environment in conjunction with those proposals put forth by the Canora Report.

5.3 Evidence of Revitalization and Neighbourhood Change

The indicators selected to provide evidence of neighbourhood revitalization and change may be summarized as follows:

1. municipal improvements
2. resident participation in RRAP
3. real estate market activity
4. neighbourhood social change

5.3.1 Municipal Improvements

Street Improvements

The proposed improvements to Canora streets, lanes, curbs and sidewalks were all implemented as planned. Improvements included street and lane paving, new street and lane lighting, new sewer installations and extensions to the storm sewer drainage runoff system. The first of these improvements were undertaken during 1974 and lane lighting and paving were done during the summer of 1975.

149th Street Widening

The Canora Development Scheme Bylaw, as later approved by the NIP plan, sanctioned the compulsory purchase of some 49 residential lots along 149th Street for the purpose of road widening. This main arterial was widened to four lanes in 1974. The

residual property was intended to be sold by the City and redeveloped by either public or private developers to a maximum density of 12 units per acre. However, on December 10, 1975, Edmonton City Council passed a bylaw to amend the Canora Development Scheme so that the residual properties along the west side of 149th Street should be zoned as park and green space (City of Edmonton Bylaw 4561, 1975, p. 4). They were subsequently landscaped as a buffer zone with berms, trees, children's play facilities and pedestrian footpaths.

Road Medians and Road Closures

A field study of Canora in 1984 revealed that the proposed roadway medians were implemented as planned. A median has been constructed on 102nd Avenue and the centre median along 107th Avenue has been blocked to restrict traffic access into the neighbourhood to two points, 151st and 153rd Streets. Turn lanes have also been installed at 102nd Avenue and 149th Street to alleviate traffic congestion at rush hours.

Road closures have been constructed at 103rd and 106th Avenues on 156 Street and at 105th and 103rd Avenue on 149th Street, as well as at the intersection of 104th Avenue and 153rd Street, all as proposed by the Canora plan. These road closures have clearly had significant influence on reduced through traffic within the neighbourhood. The field investigation revealed that the interior of Canora is remarkably quiet despite high volumes of traffic on all sides.

Park and Recreation Improvements

All the park and recreation improvements outlined in the Canora Report were implemented, with the addition of the buffer strip along 149th Street. The old church site on the corner of 102nd Avenue and 153rd Street was acquired to provide a central tot-lot. The playgrounds of Brightview and Holy Cross Schools also provide additional athletic fields and courts. Canora Park has undergone major improvements with the assistance of the Canora Community League whose building is also located on the park site.

Improvement to School Facilities

Brightview Elementary School has been redeveloped to provide the neighbourhood with a modern, circular school structure with a capacity for 375 students. Holy Cross School has also undergone major structural improvements to accommodate 635 students. Canora School has not been demolished and is currently being used by the Goodwill Rehabilitation Services of Alberta for handicapped workshops. Rather than increasing, as anticipated in 1972, neighbourhood school enrolments have actually gone down in recent years. In 1972, there were a total of 1,259 school age children in Canora. These were broken down into 502 pre-schoolers, 432 of elementary school age, 160 of junior high age and 165 of senior high school age (Canora Report, 1972, p. 30). Based on these numbers, Canora did indeed require additional classrooms, but as revitalization progressed, the number of school age children began to decline. In 1983 the City of Edmonton Neighbourhood Fact Sheet reported that there were only 210 students (56 percent capacity) enrolled at Brightview and 531 students (84 percent capacity) enrolled at Holy Cross School. The fears of planners and residents about overcrowded school conditions never did materialize. The population and household structure of Canora has changed to reduce neighbourhood school enrolments and classroom requirements.

In summary, the municipal improvements outlined in the Canora Report and development scheme were carrried out successfully. Generally speaking, physical improvements to neighbourhood infrastructure were positive, taking into consideration the sad state of the neighbourhood environment prior to NIP assistance. In combination these improvements to roads, traffic circulation, parks and schools have provided Canora residents with amenities that exceed those of adjacent neighbourhoods (i.e. High Park and Britannia). The early problems of mud and dust, heavy traffic, and inadaquate sewers have been significantly reduced. In the physical sense of the word, Canora has been revitalized.

5.3.2 Resident Participation in RRAP

Given the great enthusiasm initially shown by residents to maintain Canora as a single-family, owner-occupied neighbourhood, it was expected that the Canora ex-post evaluation would provide evidence of considerable local involvement in housing

rehabilitation. In fact, by March 1978, only 20 Canora residents had received RRAP incentives (City of Edmonton Evaluation of NIP and RRAP, 1978, p. 27). Furthermore, the few who took advantage of RRAP made only minor repairs to roofing, flooring and exterior cladding (Table 5.3). Only one-third of RRAP recipients made major improvements to heating, plumbing, or electrical systems. Overall RRAP improvements to subsystems, housing structure and services were extremely limited in Canora perhaps due to the poor quality of the original construction of the most deficient houses.

The implementation of the RRAP project in Canora came at a time when 280 of the 571 single-family housing units were judged to be substandard, which meant that they were not capable of being brought up to building code standards. The limited potential for housing improvement in Canora is also demonstrated by the fact that average RRAP funding to Canora residents was almost as high as the maximum allowable ($5,000 in 1974). The average RRAP grant was valued at $2,373 and the average loan was $2,416 for a total of $4,789. This suggests that resident participation in RRAP was limited by excessive rehabilitation need, which could not always be satisfied within the $5,000 limit. Given the low average annual income of the actual RRAP applicants in Canora (Table 5.4) it was likely that other low-income residents could not supplement RRAP funds to undertake intensive rehabilitation. Furthermore, most RRAP recipients were elderly persons (over 50 years of age) with lower incomes ($5,184) many of whom were unable to do the repairs themselves.

Amendments to the NIP and RRAP program in 1978 permitted RRAP grants to be awarded to individual homeowners without the provision for the house to be located within a NIP neighbourhood. Under these amendments, individual RRAP participation has risen slightly in Canora since NIP project termination. By December 1978, $60,957 had been allocated to 24 RRAP applicants and, by the end of 1983, the totals had risen to $80,765 for 32 applicants (Personal communication with John Latoszek, Senior Rehabilitation Officer for RRAP in Edmonton, August 15, 1984). The minor increase since 1978 suggests that there is little potential for housing rehabilitation remaining in Canora.

There is no evidence to indicate any use of RRAP funds among non-resident property holders. Absentee landlords were generally found to be unwilling to commit themselves to owning modest residential property for 10 years or to adopt CMHC rent

TABLE 5.3

CANORA RESIDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN RRAP
SEPTEMBER 1, 1974 TO MARCH 1978
TYPES OF REPAIRS

TYPE OF REPAIR	FREQUENCY	% OF TOTAL APPLICANTS
Roof	13	65.0
Floors and Stairs	13	65.0
Exterior Cladding	12	60.0
Garages	10	50.0
Doors and Windows	9	45.0
Foundation or Basement	8	40.0
Walls and Ceilings	8	40.0
Heating	8	40.0
Plumbing	8	40.0
Miscellaneous	7	35.0
Electrical	6	30.0
Chimney	1	5.0

TOTAL APPLICANTS - CANORA: 20

SOURCE: City Planning Department, Evaluation of NIP and RRAP, March 1978, p. 39

TABLE 5.4

CANORA RESIDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN RRAP 1974-1978
AVERAGE INCOME BY AGE OF APPLICANTS

AGE GROUP	#	AVERAGE INCOME
20 - 34	0	
35 - 39	1	$12,283
40 - 44	2	8,996
45 - 49	1	2,280
50 - 54	0	
55 - 59	4	3,639
60 - 64	4	6,756
65 - 69	3	4,650
70 - 74	3	5,489
75 - 79	2	5,474
80 +	0	
TOTAL	20	

Average Income all Applicants	$ 5,775
Average Income of Applicants Older than 50	$ 5,184
Average Income of Applicants Older than 60	$ 5,699
Average Income of Applicants Younger than 50	$ 8,139

SOURCE: City Planning Department, Evaluation of NIP and RRAP, March 1978, p. 27.

controls after rehabilitation (Personal communication, John Latoszek, August 15, 1984). The unexpectedly low rate of participation in RRAP was a first clear sign that revitalization in Canora was deviating from the planned course.

5.3.3 Private Revitalization Activity

Private revitalization activity not involving RRAP funds can provide an indication of real estate market forces in Canora concurrent with the implementation of the NIP and RRAP proposals. Several factors can be used to measure this activity. These may be summarized as follows:

1. the redevelopment of single-family residences to duplexes
2. real estate market activity
3. property ownership patterns

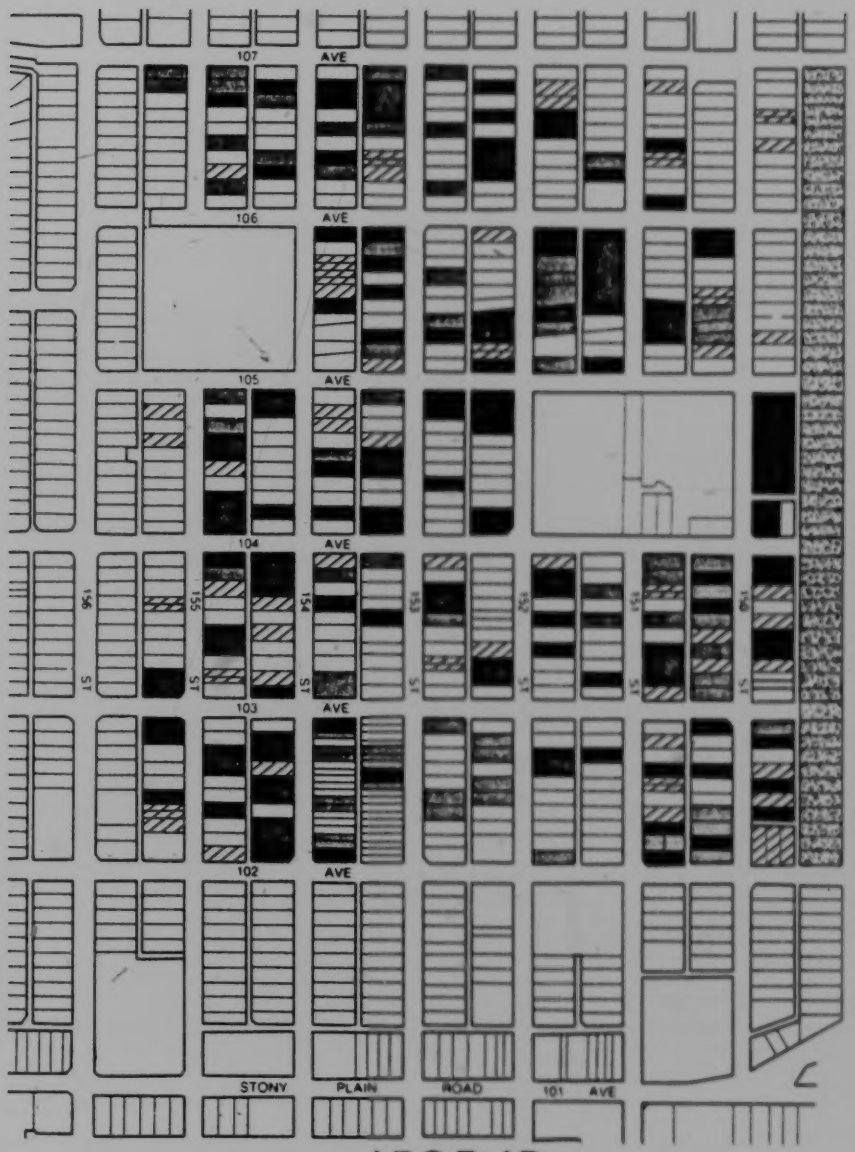
Redevelopment of Single-Family Residences to Duplexes

Redevelopment in Canora has been dramatic. Although census estimates vary, approximately 93 percent of Canora's housing stock was single-family (R-1) in 1971. For that year it is estimated that Canora contained only 6 two-family residences (converted single-family or early duplex redevelopment). By 1974, single-family residences had decreased to 83 percent of the total and, by 1984, approximately 300 single-family residences remained from the the original 571. Some 195 properties have been redeveloped to create 370 residential units (185 duplexes) (Figure 5.1). Some 66 properties were acquired by the City for municipal improvements (road widening along 149th Street (49 lots) and 107th Avenue (9 lots) and a tot-lot park (8 lots) on 102nd Avenue). In addition, there are a few vacant parcels (5 lots) and new commercial rezonings (5 lots). Duplex redevelopment appears to have occurred on approximately 30 percent of the original subdivided lots.

There is one dominant reason for this massive housing displacement. In 1972, there were 280 residences judged to be substandard by the City Assessor's Department, and their sites are closely correlated with the occurrence of duplex redevelopment. More than 130 of the 185 duplexes (Figure 5.1) have been built on sites that were occupied by

Figure 5.1

CANORA STUDY AREA
DUPLEX REDEVELOPMENT SITES



poor residences in 1972. This still leaves a good many single-family properties that were rated as poor in 1972 and that may have been rehabilitated to some extent by their owners, although many of them are below the minimum floor area requirements of CMHC and the Minimum Property Standards Bylaw. By and large these small dwellings were in fair condition in 1984, so it it appears that redevelopment was most often used to replace houses that were beyond rehabilitation. However, there were a few exceptions. Although duplex concentrations took hold in some blocks they were unable to penetrate others, including some that were in poor condition in 1972.

The relatively large amount of duplex redevelopment in Canora indicates that neighbourhood upgrading must have attracted external private developers. This deduction is also supported by the fact that so little money was granted under RRAP to local residents. Without local involvement in housing rehabilitation it can be assumed that much of the original substandard housing stock was redeveloped with external financial resources. This assumption is further supported by the conditions of the neighbourhood real estate market at the time.

Real Estate Market Activity

To examine the intensity of neighbourhood destabilization associated with revitalization, MLS Real Estate monthly listings were consulted for the years 1963 to 1981. This time frame captures both the Edmonton real estate boom from 1973 to 1981 and the planning and implementation stages of the NIP project in Canora, thus providing a historical perspective on revitalization activity.

Several key points come to light from the real estate data (Table 5.5). First, there was a moderate increase in sales activity in Canora leading up to and including the implementation phase of NIP and RRAP. This may indicate that real estate speculation was occurring as residents sold their homes to 'outside investors' with private revitalization interests. During interviews with local residents and CNIA members it was reported that 'enterprizing' or 'less committed' residents were captivated by real estate brokers to gain substantial profits from an otherwise substandard home. Also, after 1974 absentee landlords of substandard housing were anxious to rid themselves of costly code compliances required under the Minimum Property Standards Bylaw. In fact, there was a

TABLE 5.5

Residential Real Estate Sales and Listings (MLS) in Canora From 1963 to 1981

YEAR	TOTAL NEIGHBOURHOOD SALES	AVERAGE SIZE (sq. ft.)	AVERAGE P.P.S.F. (dollars)	AVERAGE AGE (years)	AVERAGE MLS LIST PRICE (dollars)	ACTUAL SELLING PRICE (dollars)	EDMONTON AVERAGE HOUSING PRICES
1963	9	789.22	11.34	14.7	9,505	8,950	13,323
1964	11	736.46	9.90	16.0	7,172	7,319	12,406
1965	15	840.00	10.06	17.0	9,343	8,935	13,917
1966	23	699.00	12.22	16.6	8,844	8,545	11,516
1967	14	835.00	13.09	14.2	11,789	10,924	13,470
1968	47	786.00	18.24	18.4	15,626	14,340	16,280
1969	24	808.00	19.13	17.7	17,560	15,462	18,945
1970	26	782.00	19.62	17.5	17,350	15,350	21,806
1971	30	744.00	21.30	17.43	17,187	15,847	20,346
1972	31	912.00	17.25	22.8	22,165	15,735	25,998
1973	49	746.00	25.31	17.75	20,691	18,878	23,914
1974	38	953.00	26.99	17.49	29,913	25,710	31,783
1975	54	977.00	39.26	15.39	36,705	38,361	38,362
1976	32	854.00	55.23	19.53	50,206	47,165	52,517
1977	35	948.00	55.86	16.89	58,502	52,956	60,244
1978	35	810.00	81.79	16.60	71,988	66,252	66,657
1979	40	1,061.80	70.89	17.30	78,538	75,220	74,453
1980	33	963.00	92.60	N/A	92,339	89,175	78,914
1981	25	1,017.00	74.71	N/A	78,784	75,984	88,623
TOTAL	571						

Source: Edmonton Real Estate Board (MLS) Listings.
These data were compiled by documenting all residential sales and listings for each month from 1963-1981 with Canora residential addresses.

Notes: P.P.S.F = price per square foot.

Housing prices do not match those presented in Table 5.1 due to averaging during different months of the year.

sharp increase in sales in 1973. In retrospect, this year appears to have been an early 'shake-out' of residents in the face of uncertainty about the future effects of the neighbourhood improvement scheme.

Second, the selling prices for houses in Canora were substantially below the Edmonton average price throughout the period examined, except in several key years. In 1975, 1978 and 1979, the Canora average was very close to the average for Edmonton, and in 1980 selling prices in Canora skyrocketted, exceeding the Edmonton average by $10,000. These figures are outstanding when it is considered that Canora's original housing stock was well below the Edmonton average on quality. It can therefore be concluded that something other than normal market conditions was operating in Canora during those years of inflated prices.

Third, throughout the 1970's, in contrast to the 1960's, average list prices were several thousand dollars above average selling price in Canora. This can be taken as evidence of inflated expectations in a buoyant market. However, there was one year, 1975, the first full year of the implementation of the NIP project, in which the average MLS list price for a single-family residence in Canora was below the actual selling price . This is not normal. The price differential may be interpreted as a 'demand gap' in the real estate market. It seems that buyers were willing to pay higher than expected prices for declining homes in order to gain a stake in the rising market they perceived to be forthcoming in Canora as revitalization took hold.

Fourth, the MLS monthly listings show that Canora experienced high volumes of real estate activity. As indicated in Table 5.5, from 1963 to 1981 there were 571 residential sales with Canora addresses. The distribution of these sales over time correlates well with NIP and RRAP project implementation and points to an early 'shake out' of residents as they became aware of the potential for neighbourhood destabilization. A cursory investigation of MLS real estate zones around Canora revealed that no other nearby neighbourhood sustained similar levels of residential listings or sales.

Property Ownership Patterns

An examination of property ownership patterns was conducted on the sample of 225 assessment records to try to determine the financial sources underwriting

revitalization in Canora. In this manner it was hoped that it would be possible to attach an identity and origin to property holders in Canora from 1965 to 1981 (Table 5.6), remembering that NIP and RRAP were intended to promote incumbent upgrading. In fact, it was found that absentee owners of property were already prominent in 1970 and maintained that prominence throughout the decade. The assessment record sample indicated that a substantial proportion of Canora properties were in the hands of either other-private (private individuals residing outside Canora), real estate / holding companies or commercial companies holding residential property (e.g. construction companies) during the entire study period. Owner-occupied housing decreased rapidly from an 87 percent share of the sample in 1965 to 45 percent in 1971. It fluctuated around 40 percent for the rest of the decade.

This high proportion of property ownership or holdings by realtors and commercial interests indicates that Canora had significant investment appeal beyond incumbent upgrading or do-it-yourself housing rehabilitation. Canora's real estate market attracted a variety of absentee landlords, including small builders, electrical and plumbing contractors and real estate companies who may have had no intention of ever residing in the neighbourhood. The assessment records also revealed that the largest portion of non-owner-occupied dwellings were owned by persons residing outside Canora but living in Edmonton. This proportion reached its highest level in 1975 and remained relatively high until 1980. Very few properties were owned by next-door neighbours or persons residing in Canora.

In summary, the real estate findings indicate that Canora's revitalization attracted metropolitan real estate interests. This is contrary to the NIP and RRAP objectives whereby area rehabilitation was expected to promote individual incentive for incumbent upgrading, and to strengthen neighbourhood autonomy by ensuring a stable, post-revitalization residential environment for the incumbent population. Indeed, it is clear from real estate data that owner-occupiers were not a majority of Canora's population even before it was designated as a NIP area.

TABLE 5.6

OWNERSHIP OF THE SAMPLE OF RESIDENTS FROM THE ASSESSMENT RECORDS AT FIVE YEAR INTERVALS FROM 1965 TO 1980

	1965		1970		1975		1980	
OWNERSHIP TYPE	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Private/Owner Occupied	184	87	97	45	85	38	89	41
Other Private	22	10	86	40	74	34	78	36
Real Estate/Holding Company	4	2	25	12	43	20	32	15
Commercial	1	.5	2	1	15	7	10	5
CMHC Holding	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
Exempt Property	-	-	4	2	3	1	2	1
Other Ownership	1	.5	-	-	-	-	1	.5
TOTAL n = *	212	100	214	100	225	100	215	100

NOTE:

*Assessment sample totals vary from year to year because properties were re-subdivided or roll numbers cancelled as more and more Canora properties were redeveloped.

5.3.4 Neighbourhood Social Change

As a first step towards identifying social changes accompanying revitalization, data on neighbourhood population growth and changes in household composition were collected. The task of gathering historical population data was made difficult by the fact that neither civic nor national censuses gather data at the neighbourhood level. When available, the most useful estimates of Canora's neighbourhood population were found in the City of Edmonton censuses for the years 1969 to 1983, enumeration areas 3, 4, & 5 of census tract 50 (Table 5.7). However, comprehensive data were not available before 1978, which means that direct comparisons over the study period were impossible. Population and household characteristics from 1978-1983 civic censuses (which provide detailed data) had therefore to be compared with the much patchier data that it was possible to compile from various of the City of Edmonton's urban renewal and housing publications. Taking these limitations into account, the indicators chosen for analysis here may be summarized as changes to the following:

1. neighbourhood population and household composition
2. residential units, numbers and tenure
3. household income

Neighbourhood Population and Household Composition

The 1969 census recorded 2,923 people living in Canora. A large number of them were under the age of 20 (701 males and 610 females). Furthermore, as reported in the *Canora Report*, there were 401 households headed by married couples and only 141 households headed by single, divorced or separated persons. This household composition suggests that in the late 1960s Canora was most probably a neighbourhood comprised of traditional nuclear families with a good many dependent children (Table 5.7). By contrast, in 1983 there were 3,697 residents but only 985 persons under the age of 20. This is sizable loss of younger residents. When census returns for 1978 to 1981 are examined in more detail, it becomes apparent that the losses were primarily in the very young age groups. This is supported by school enrolment data which show that Canora has steadily lost school-age population. Census data for 1983 also reveal that there are few residents over 60 years of age left in Canora. The 1981 federal census also reported that only 50 percent of the population in Census Tract 50 were family households (comprised of

TABLE 5.7

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE IN CANORA 1969-1983

(BASED ON CIVIC CENSUS TRACT CT 50, ENUMERATION AREAS 3, 4, & 5)

	1969	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1981	1983
TOTAL POPULATION	2,182	3,038	3,122	3,038	2,996	3,020	2,934	3,042	3,137	3,697
AGE STRUCTURE										
0 - 19	1,310	1,109	1,204	1,109	1,050	956	1,100	960	895	985
20 - 29							793	941	1,092	1,150
30 - 39							386	417	410	605
40 - 49	1,612	1,929	1,918	1,929	1,946	2,063	200	271	271	235
50 - 59							230	245	251	308
60 - 69							148	125	129	129
70 - 79							62	65	74	136
80 +							15	18	15	54
RESIDENTIAL UNITS AND TENURE										
Total Dwellings	1,010						1,099	1,139	1,141	1,631
Owners	395						438	433	433	454
Renters	615						603	656	667	1,046
Vacancies							58	50	41	125
MARITAL STATUS										
Married							1,251	1,636	1,636	2,009
Single							1,074	1,116	1,094	1,309
Divorced							104	161	84	218
Separated							55	94	102	147
Other							11	5	18	16
EMPLOYMENT STATUS										
Part Time	435						98	91	94	174
Full Time	64						1,278	1,433	1,466	1,455
Retired	64						103	95	123	245
Housewife							303	401		364
Unemployed	3						10	72	88	427
Other							1	37	36	54

nuclear and/or extended family members). Furthermore, only 35 percent of all households in Canora contained 3 to 5 persons and another 15 percent were single-person households (Statistics Canada, 99-925, 1981). The 1981 census data no longer depicts Canora as a traditional neighbourhood. By comparison, in 1972 the *Canora Report* reported that most of the single-family residences were occupied by traditional households of which 440 (76 percent) were two-parent families and only 141 (24 percent) headed by either single, divorced, widowed or separated persons. Single-family dwellings housed some 1,061 school age children which also suggests that Canora was a neighbourhood containing families in the early life cycle stage. Unfortunately, few 1971 data were available for the 500 rental apartment units which had already been constructed along 156th Street and in the blocks south of 102nd Avenue. These apartments were the focus for neighbourhood protest, yet little is known of the manner in which their residents were affected by revitalization.

Residential Units, Numbers and Tenure

In 1983 there was a total of 1,631 residences in Canora. Of these 454 were owner-occupied, 1,046 were rental and 131 were either vacant or under construction (Edmonton Planning Department, District Planning Section, Canora Neighbourhood Fact Sheet, 1983). In 1974 there were 1,105 residences, of which 570 were single-family, 35 were duplexes and 500 were apartment units (Older Neighbourhoods Vol 2, 1974, p. 116). In their tenure pattern these structures were beginning to show evidence of a high rate of absentee landlord ownership. A total of 380 single-family residences were owner-occupied and 190 were rented. Duplex tenure was also split: 15 were owned by their occupiers and 20 were rented. All walk-up apartment units (500) were rented. Since at least the early 1970's Canora has contained a sizable number of rental housing units, although this was completely contary to the initial intentions of both governments and residents who intended to promote incumbent upgrading and pride in home-ownership. The initially high level of rental tenure was a serious departure from the CMHC selection criteria, which required that designated neighbourhoods be predominantly owner-occupied to ensure 'residential stability' after improvements were made. NIP and RRAP policies also anticipated that home-ownership would increase following public

improvement and investment, or at least that pre-assistance ratios would be maintained. The latter did not occur in Canora, as the owner-occupied share of the housing stock fell from 36 per cent to 28 per cent. The actual number of owner occupied dwellings increased slightly from, 380 in 1972 to 454 in 1983, but the total number of rental units increased by more than 500 over the same period. The net increase in owner-occupations did not occur within the original stock of houses, either; it was a result of the large amount of duplex redevelopment , which provided both rental and owner-occupied accommodation. On the positive side, Canora's revitalization appears to have provided an unanticipated benefit by maintaining relatively modestly priced rental opportunities. In 1981 Canora's rental rates were between $400 and $550 which means that rental accommodation in Canora has stayed close to the Edmonton average of $415 (Statistics Canada, 99-925, 1981). These rents place Canora squarely amongst modest rental cost neighbourhoods. Similarly, housing values in Census Tract 50 were estimated in 1981 to range from $95,000 to $110,000 giving an average that was very close to the average ($102,000) for Edmonton as a whole. This, in itself, indicates a considerable improvement in Canora's relative condition in the Edmonton housing market.

One consequence of the expansion of moderate-income rental accommodation in Canora has been to increase resident mobility. In 1983, only 31 percent of Canora residents had lived there more than 5 years, 38 percent between 1 and 4 years and another 31 percent less than one year (Canora Neighbourhood Fact Sheet, 1983). The generally short length of residence further points to the fact that Canora's revitalization has been accompanied by destabilization. Resident mobility is addressed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Household Incomes

Household economic data were not available for the early years of the neighbourhood improvement project. It was, therefore, difficult to ascertain changes with any precision. What is certain is that in 1974, the year of NIP designation, Canora was known to be comprised of low-income residents. At that time the average income was reported to be $6,008, while for all of Edmonton's inner-city neighbourhoods it was $9,012 (Older Neighbourhoods, 1974, p. 21). The *Canora Report* also stated that 60

percent of the owner-occupied dwellings in poor condition were occupied by families whose heads of household earned less than $6,000, while a meagre 2 percent earned more than $10,000 (Canora Report, 1972, p. 7). The situation for the tenant occupied dwellings in poor condition was almost identical (58 percent and 4 percent respectively). Comparable data were not provided on the occupants of dwellings in fair or good condition, but Canora was clearly depicted as a working-class neighbourhood. In 1981, the average census household income for Canora was estimated at $26,135, the average for Census Tract 50 (Canada Census, 1981, B7, p. 892). Only 330 residents (19 percent of the 1,695 member labour force in Census Tract 50) earned over the average household income. In comparison, the average private household income for Edmonton in 1981 was $28,887. This finding demonstrates that Canora's annual income is by no means high and it can therefore be assumed to have been spared high-income gentrification. On the other hand, the federal census reported a low incidence (less than 25 percent) of low-income households earning below the metropolitan average annual household income for the entire census tract (Statistics Canada 99-925, 1981). This indicates that relative household incomes are higher than they were in 1969. At that time 60 percent of all Canora residents earned less than the metropolitan average income. However, the incidence of low-income households in 1981 was reported to be higher (29 percent) among Canora's single / unattached individuals which may include households headed by retired persons on fixed pensions.

These data are not conclusive but they point to some increase in Canora's relative economic status in Edmonton. There have also been minor adjustments to household employment structure. Census data reveal that Canora possessed a high labour force participation rate in 1983. At that time, of the 3,697 residents 1,455 were full-time workers, 174 were part-time workers and 245 were retired persons. In contrast the neighbourhood contained only 365 homemakers and 985 persons persons under the age of 20. The female labour force participation rate was 45 percent. These characteristics indicate an active labour force and support the interpretation that Canora is no longer a traditional nuclear family neighbourhood. It appears to have been transformed into a neighbourhood comprised of young, work / career oriented residents.

The changes to the neighbourhood labour force and economic character strengthen the notion that Canora has undergone change that is inconsistent with its 1969 image of a stable, traditional neighbourhood comprised of comparatively low-income nuclear families.

5.3.5 Discussion

Having identified the components of revitalization in Canora from the assessment records, census data and field surveys, it is clear that the housing stock and environmental amenities have been upgraded but social change has also occurred. The one interpretation that is certain is that the neighbourhood changes accompaning revitalization did not benefit the entire incumbent population. Some of the original population has been displaced (voluntarily or involuntarily) by newcomers who have stepped in to take advantage of Canora's newly expanded duplex and rental accommodations. On its own, the planned neighbourhood improvement program may not have had much effect on the actual course of revitalization, but when combined with an extremely active metropolitan real estate market and boom conditions, private revitalization took off on its own course.

For all intents and purposes, the municipal improvements set out in the budget of 1974-1976 were implemented as planned. The physical improvements made to Canora were necessary if resident concerns were to be reduced. It was these physical problems that first drew attention to Canora in 1971, and later spurred government action. Relatively speaking, the Canora neighbourhood enjoys superior municipal services not shared by nearby neighbourhoods. It is beyond the planned municipal service upgrading that the expected outcomes of revitalization have deviated from from their planned course.

The low resident participation in RRAP was the first indication that housing rehabilitation in Canora was not succeeding. As it was, the 24 RRAP recipients were able to make only minor repairs to their deteriorated structures. The low participation rate may be attributed to a combination of factors, including excessive housing rehabilitation need in relation to the personal and public funds that were available. The optimism displayed by city planners and the CNIA in surveying residents to establish their willingness to partake in a neighbourhood rehabilitation scheme did not prove to be an accurate indicator of

long-term resident motives and commitment. It appears that planners and residents not only overestimated the potential for rehabilitation, they underestimated the influence of absentee landlords. As rehabilitation stagnated, real estate trading and duplex redevelopment flourished. Revitalization was no longer under public control. This fact was never more clear than in 1980 when the Canora Development Scheme Bylaw was lifted, and new land use regulations permitted duplexes on all properties without density controls (City of Edmonton Landuse Bylaw, No. 5996, 1980). Once Bylaw 5996 was in force and Bylaw No. 3975 revoked, Canora property holders took advantage of the new R-2 zoning which was uniformly applied across the neighbourhood and which permitted a duplex or semi-detached structure (2 units) on every 50' by 150' lot. Within the sample of 225 properties drawn from the assessment records 30 duplexes were constructed in 1980 alone. This number is higher than in any previous or following years.

This sharp rise of private revitalization had not been anticipated by either the Canora Report or the CNIA. With no prior experience with a neighbourhood approach to housing rehabilitation, no one envisioned the effect that absentee landlords were able to have. Despite their strong presence in Canora as early as 1970, neither their dominance nor their potential power to damage the aspirations of the neighbourhood improvement plan were formally addressed once Canora was designated as a NIP neighbourhood.

Furthermore, the sample drawn from assessment records provides little evidence to suggest that incumbents took advantage of redevelopment opportunities themselves. In their financial state, few could afford to undertake rehabilitation, much less redevelopment. The high levels of absentee property holdings, redevelopment and real estate activity raise the question of Canora's suitability for NIP designation. Stability in residential land use and population were essential criteria for all NIP and RRAP projects. Not only was stability to be the ultimate indicator of project success, it was to have been used to screen unsuitable neighbourhoods from the selection process. Yet, based on census data and the degree of absentee land ownership, it is apparent that Canora could not be considered a stable neighbourhood in 1971, nor did revitalization lead to stability. The neighbourhood is no longer dominated by committed long-term residents residing in owner-occupied residences. Instead, much of the original housing stock has been eradicated and replaced by duplex units and rental tenure. Judging from real estate sales it

appears that housing market inflation and speculation occurred simultaneously with public intervention. What may have actually resulted was a heavy out-migration of the incumbent population as they became threatened by neighbourhood land use fragmentation, speculation, code enforcements and realtor pressure. As reported in Chapter 1.4.2, only 82 'long-term' residents were identified in 1981, from a total of 1,141 dwellings.

Canora has undergone many social changes since the early 1970s. By 1983, it was characterized by a population of small, comparatively young households. The total number of households had increased substantially, and so too had the total population, but families in the child-rearing stage of the family life cycle were in the minority. Contemporary Canora displays a different kind of household formation. The percentage of residents under the age of 20 has decreased from 43 percent in 1974 to 29 percent in 1983. This change is also common to many revitalizing neighbourhoods (Clay, 1983, p.16; Lipton, 1977, p. 146; Gale, 1979, p. 301). The overrepresentation of single residents (1,094 in 1981) suggests that most new household formation had occurred among young singles between the ages of 20 and 29 (1,092 in 1981) who may or may not be related or married. These persons may live together only to share housing expenses.

These demographic changes suggest that Canora has experienced a similar socio-economic transformation to other revitalizating neighbourhoods. Many authors of revitalization research (Black, 1977 p. 20; Gale 1979 p. 297; Downs, 1981, p. 80) report similar changes in neighbourhood characteristics. Incumbent upgraded neighbourhoods may inadvertantly attract professional and business people who aim to reduce travel costs while taking advantage of central city facilities with little need for suburban, child-oriented services. Although Canora's housing quality hardly compares with that of gentrifying older neighbourhoods, it may be argued that, under boom conditions, Canora's housing opportunities were attractive for newly arrived migrants to Edmonton. This argument is supported by Canora's consistently high labour force participation rate. A work / career orientation is also obvious from the fact that, in 1983, there were only 365 housewives / homemakers as compared with 1,466 full-time workers. Housewives made up only 11 percent of the total neighbourhood population (City of Edmonton 1981 Civic Census).

Given the alteration of Canora s physical envionment, the associated household disruption deserves discussion. Unfortunately, resident displacement resulting directly from the neighbourhood improvement scheme was very difficult to identify, much less evaluate. Minimal documentation was undertaken by CMHC or the City of Edmonton on this sensitive issue. This much has been ascertained. CMHC stipulated that allowances ($500) be paid to those residents forced to relocate because of NIP and RRAP implementation and municipal land acquisition (Willson, 1980, p.29). The Canora project budget estimated that some 67 residents would have to be relocated for a total cost of $ 35,550. No additional compensation is mentioned in the documentation of the Canora project and it was impossible to gather detailed household information on residents who had been forced to move involuntarily due to building code enforcements or zealous realtors. A particularly unfortunate situation arose from the fact that 'inferior' dwellings below code requirements were most often inhabited by stable households with little need for additional space. The owners of these housing units were most often senior citizens on fixed retirement incomes who could not afford to purchase housing elsewhere (Canora Report, 1972). They were also under some pressure to leave their homes and relocate to Canora Arms, an Alberta Housing Project for the aged built as part of the NIP program (Personal Communication with Mrs. Elaine Dyck, CNIA Executive, April 4, 1982). In none of the documented evidence is there proof that compensation was made to senior citizens who sold their homes and relocated to Canora Arms.

In CMHC's view, code enforcements were to have been compulsory and RRAP loans and grants were not to be available for repairs to substandard stuctures. This meant that residents might be faced with the threat of displacement, if they could not afford to carry out the statutory repairs, even with assisstance under RRAP. In fact, however, the City of Edmonton did not enforce its Minimum Standards Bylaw in Canora. In 1983, 71 original 'poor' properties still remained in Canora (Figure 5.1). These properties were never redeveloped, nor were residents convicted under the bylaw (Personal communication with John Bruce, City of Edmonton, August 13, 1984). Despite early threats from the City, no legal action was ever taken against home-owners who could not, or would not, bring their properties up to building code standards. Real estate rumours and resident fear of prosecution were not well-founded, though it is impossible to

determine how many Canora homeowners sold out under this threat.

Rental displacement was altogether hidden in Canora's revitalization. It was difficult to ascertain instances where renters (185 in 1974) occupying substandard properties were displaced. These renters were lost in real estate shuffles and turnovers. They were not given relocation assistance by CMHC either, because they did not own the affected properties.

As private redevelopment increased, and as property values and housing demand rose, low-income homeowners were squeezed out of Canora's housing market. At the same time, the reservoir of modest housing in Edmonton was being reduced, from which it can be argued that those persons displaced from Canora could not easily gain similar or better accommodation elsewhere in Edmonton, because their average incomes were amongst the lowest of all the below standard neighbourhoods (Older Neighbourhoods, 1974). Another disbenefit for incumbents was the fact that any profit made by selling out to redevelopers was probably far less than was to be had later in the revitalization process. Private revitalization pressures caused some Canora properties to undergo multiple sales. The best opportunity for financial gains came between 1974 and 1976 when house prices in Canora more than doubled.

In brief, private revitalization also limited the available choice of accommodation for low-income groups through housing price inflation and demolition. These residents were inconvienced in a disproportionate degree through displacement and were only minimally compensated, if at all, through relocation allowances.

In 1981, Canora was found to be quite a different neighbourhood than had been envisioned from reading the Canora Report and the NIP documents. The composition of housing stock, housing tenure and type of ownership have been radically altered, and the image of long-term owner-occupiers living in modest but well-kept detached houses has not been realized. Given the instability that was inherent in Canora's situation in the early 1970s, the image may never have been a realistic one. Certainly, the real estate and census data point to the probability that public intervention combined with private real estate market forces to transform Canora into a different and even less stable neighbourhood than was either intended or desirable. Changes in the neighbourhood population structure reveal that it was not 'preserved' through public intervention. In reality, the public

investments under NIP and RRAP seem to have provided the necessary confidence and investment potential for absentee landlords to take up revitalization where the low-income owners and renters could not. This consequence had not been foreseen by the planners, nor was it publicly expressed in CMHC's policies. Yet, the choices for Canora planners and residents may have been between two evils: uncontrolled private redevelopment or postponed redevelopment through public intervention as a means of cooling real estate speculation and calming resident protest until such time that the opposition lessened and rezoning could proceed in an orderly way.

It may be concluded that the planning and political processes out of which the Canora neighbourhood improvement project evolved did not lead to an adequate forecast of future events. Consequently, the resultant neighbourhood changes did not correspond to the perceived needs and aspirations of the incumbent population to whom the project was directed (Detomasi, 1979, p. 57). Indeed, few of the original members of that target population still remain in Canora. For all the good intentions of federal, provincial and local governments and the CNIA, it did not prove possible to arrive at a plan to guide neighbourhood revitalization without unanticipated impacts which have turned out to be more substantial in the long run.

6. ANALYSIS OF RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results of two surveys are presented to document local reactions to the planned and unplanned neighbourhood improvements and their consequences. One survey garnered the opinions of 'long-term' residents (pre neighbourhood improvement project) while the other was targeted to 'short-term' residents (post 1974). Residents were expected to identify both the positive and negative changes that have occurred in conjunction with NIP and RRAP policies. As stated in Chapter 2, change to any part of a system has allocative consequences within the entire community. It is these changes that are most important for an ex-post evaluation of the social benefits and costs brought about by NIP and RRAP investments.

The analysis of resident questionnaires is concentrated on an assessment of physical changes in light of NIP and RRAP, on the one hand, and on unplanned revitalization, on the other hand. The questionnaires also provided indications of resident turnover and displacement, and degree of residential instability present in Canora in 1982, to supplement the information already presented in Chapter 5. Evidence that points to ways in which NIP and RRAP may have acted to destabilize an already fragile residential community are therefore drawn out from the residents' own experiences. As well, residents were asked to comment on various concerns of neighbourhood life and to rate their current and past levels of quality of life in relation to how these were impacted upon by NIP and RRAP proposals. Those concerns chosen as part of the ex-post evaluation are summarized as follows;

1. survey of long-term residents
    a. ratings of NIP improvements
    b. unexpected changes as a result of NIP
    c. changes of opinion regarding neighbourhood concerns
2. survey of all residents
    a. resident mobility and neighbourhood stability
    b. quality of neighbourhood environment (physical and social)
        1) resident likes and dislikes

2) resident reactions to duplexes as a specific feature of change

3) comparison with other neighbourhoods

3. resident participation in neighbourhood affairs

6.2 Survey of Long-Term Residents

To gather the residents' specific experiences with the neighbourhood improvement project, the CNIA membership list for 1974 was consulted to compile a listing of all those residents who had lived in Canora from 1974 to 1981. A total of 82 so-called long-term residents were identified and all were surveyed; 50 of these residents responded. It was decided to test the experiences of this group separately to determine how favourably the original residents viewed the neighbourhood improvements in 1982, after having lived with them for 5-8 years.

6.2.1 Ratings of NIP Improvements

The sample of long-term residents were asked to rate street and lane paving, lighting, road closures, and landscaping as being very good, good, adequate, poor, or very poor. Their assessment was generally favourable (Table 6.1), although neighbourhood landscaping and road closures were not as highly regarded as the other improvements. Some residents perceived landscaping as 'eye sores', while resident disfavour towards roadway alterations was based on the unanticipated high rates of traffic congestion at the major intersections where the alterations have created bottlenecks. These negative opinions to the contrary, however, the physical infrastructure improvements under NIP were well received by the long-term residents. This result was not surprising considering the sad state of municipal services in 1974.

6.2.2 Unexpected Neighbourhood Changes as a Result of NIP

Amongst 'unexpected changes', an increase in neighbourhood overcrowding, an excess of duplex units and excessive traffic noise for properties abutting major arterials were noted by several residents (Table 6.2). These responses illustrate a small measure of resident dissatisfaction. However, 46 percent of respondents mentioned no unexpected changes and a further 8 percent reported a favourable change in the unanticipated

TABLE 6.1

LONG-TERM RESIDENTS' RATINGS
OF NIP IMPROVEMENTS IN CANORA

IMPROVEMENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES				
		VG	G	ADEQUATE	P	VP
Paved lanes	48	29.2	41.7	27.1	-	2.1
Lane lighting	47	27.7	44.7	19.7	2.1	6.4
Road closures	47	17.0	29.8	42.6	-	10.6
Landscaping/parks	45	20.0	20.0	42.2	2.2	15.6

TABLE 6.2

UNEXPECTED CHANGES AS A RESULT OF REVITALIZATION: RESPONSE FROM LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

UNEXPECTED CHANGES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSE
Problems in street layout	3	6%
Crowded conditions	7	14%
More absentee landlords	3	6%
More duplexes than anticipated	4	8%
Greater parking congestion	2	4%
Excessive traffic and noise	4	8%
Less traffic and noise	4	8%
No unexpected changes[1]	23	46%
Total	50	100%

1. No response were assumed to mean no unexpected changes.

decrease in traffic volumes and noise within Canora s boundaries.

6.2.3 Changes of Opinion Regarding Neighbourhood Concerns

In view of the considerable degree of resident dissatisfaction with the land use practices of the early 1970's, as reported by the CNIA to City Council meetings, a similar list of concerns was presented to long-term residents in 1981 to try to determine whether these concerns had decreased as a result of the neighbourhood improvement program. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they personally felt that problems concerning absentee landlords, deteriorating homes, redevelopment and real estate pressures, and traffic congestion were greater, unchanged or less in 1982. The responses (Table 6.3) were generally mixed. The only unequivocal agreement was a perceived reduction in the number of deteriorated houses. The majority of respondents (77 percent) agreed that these were less of a problem in 1982. On all other concerns, between 54 percent and 73 percent of the respondents perceived the situation to be, at best, no better than it had been in the early 1970's. In one case, absentee landlords, the largest group of respondents considered the situation to have worsened by 1982; there were good grounds for this assessment, as the evidence reported in Chapter 5 makes clear. This result also reinforces the findings that the most serious unexpected changes (Table 6.2) were related to the increases in duplexes, most of which are rented, and the associated increase in population density.

Based on the perceptions of this sample of long-term residents, Canora's physical environment has been significantly improved but problems arising from its location and absentee landownership were no better than they were prior to the implementation of NIP and RRAP. Long-time problems resulting from Canora's proximity to heavy traffic routes (149th and 156th Streets and 107th Avenue) and its convenient location have not been clearly overcome in the minds of the long-term residents. On the contrary, it may be speculated that these locational qualities have aided Canora to revitalize in the form of higher density duplex redevelopment, and thus accentuated longstanding neighbourhood problems.

TABLE 6.3

LONG-TERM RESPONDENTS' CHANGE OF OPINION REGARDING NEIGHBOURHOOD CONCERNS

CITIZEN/NEIGHBOURHOOD CONCERNS	GREATER TODAY n	%	UNCHANGED TODAY n	%	LESS TODAY n	%
Absentee landlords	18	43.9	11	26.8	12	29.3
Deteriorated homes	2	4.9	8	19.5	31	75.6
Redevelopment pressure	9	22.0	13	31.7	19	46.3
Real estate pressure	6	15.0	19	47.5	15	37.5
Traffic congestion	15	34.9	12	27.9	16	37.2
Total	60	29.1	63	30.5	83	40.2

6.3 Survey of all Residents

In view of the unanticipated changes that Canora has experienced during revitalization, it was necessary to the research design to try to determine, from the opinions and behaviour of a sample of the residents, whether the changes were a consequence of public intervention in the neighbourhood improvement process. From the data presented in Chapter 5, it has been inferred that the public improvements gave Canora a competetive edge in Edmonton's low to medium cost housing market, particularly for duplex rental accommodation. It might therefore be concluded that the neighbourhood improvement plan erred in its failure to anticipate this possibility and to compensate for it during plan preparation.

To address this general issue the survey was designed to permit a comparison between long-term and short-term residents. Since the majority of short-term residents (64 percent) were found to be renters in 1982, whereas the long-term residents were owner-occupiers, it was expected that they would differ in their opinions about Canora and their reasons for living there. It was also expected that these differences, in their turn, would have an important bearing on the future stability of Canora and the strength of its community institutions, both of which were of central concern in CMHC's conception of neighbourhood improvement. At the same time, it is reasonable to suppose that the conditions that attracted the newcomers to Canora are at least partly the same as those that explain the attachment of the long-term incumbent residents. If these should also prove to be conditions that were selected for enhancement under the improvement program, there would be additional evidence that public intervention had contributed to the destabilization of the Canora community.

6.3.1 Residential Mobility and Neighbourhood Stability

Given the tenure dichotomy in Canora it was possible to isolate two different populations for the purpose of the analysis. One included the immobile long-term residents, and the other the relatively new, short-term residents, most of whom have been mobile in the recent past.

The long-term residents in the survey sample were found to have been very stable indeed. A large proportion of them (43 percent) had moved to Canora before 1958,

another 43 percent had moved there between 1960 and 1970, and the remaining 14 percent between 1970 and 1974. This was in marked contrast to the short-term respondents whose place of residence by year from 1974 to 1981 is illustrated in Figure 6.1. It is clear that as revitalization took hold, there was a steady flow of household moves into Canora. For example, among the 73 short-term respondents, only 7 percent had lived in the same house since 1974. As late as 1978, only 33 percent of them reported that they were living in Canora. In other words, two-thirds of the short-term respondents had lived in Canora for less than four years at the time of the survey in September 1982.

The survey data also provide some interesting details about the geographical origins of newcomers to Canora. In 1974 a total of 50 percent of the sample of short-term residents were living outside Edmonton. Even as late as 1980, 23 percent were still doing so. This suggests that Canora has indeed experienced a population turnover associated with the economic boom conditions that drew so many people to Edmonton in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Another gauge of neighbourhood stability is the likelihood that residents would move elsewhere, given adequate resources and viable housing alternatives. The respondents were therefore asked whether they intended to move out of Canora(Table 6.4) and how they would feel if they were forced to leave Canora for a new job (Table 6.5). In this way, it was expected that resident sentiments toward Canora as a unique neighbourhood or community would surface. A total of 32 percent of the sample of short-term residents indicated that they did intend to move, compared with only 18 percent of the long-term residents. This result was expected. The long-term residents still present in Canora in 1982 had resisted years of heavy real estate activity and neighbourhood instability, so it is to be expected that they are committed to remaining there. The evidence of their attachment to Canora was reinforced by their responses in Table 6.5. A total of 70 percent indicated that they would feel sorry to leave Canora. This finding is in sharp contrast to the short-term residents, 43 percent of whom said they would feel sorry to leave Canora. The neutral stance taken by considerable numbers of respondents is also interesting. These neutral feelings may be interpreted as resident apathy, especially among the short-term residents.

Figure 6.1

Short-term Respondents' Residential Mobility
1974-1982

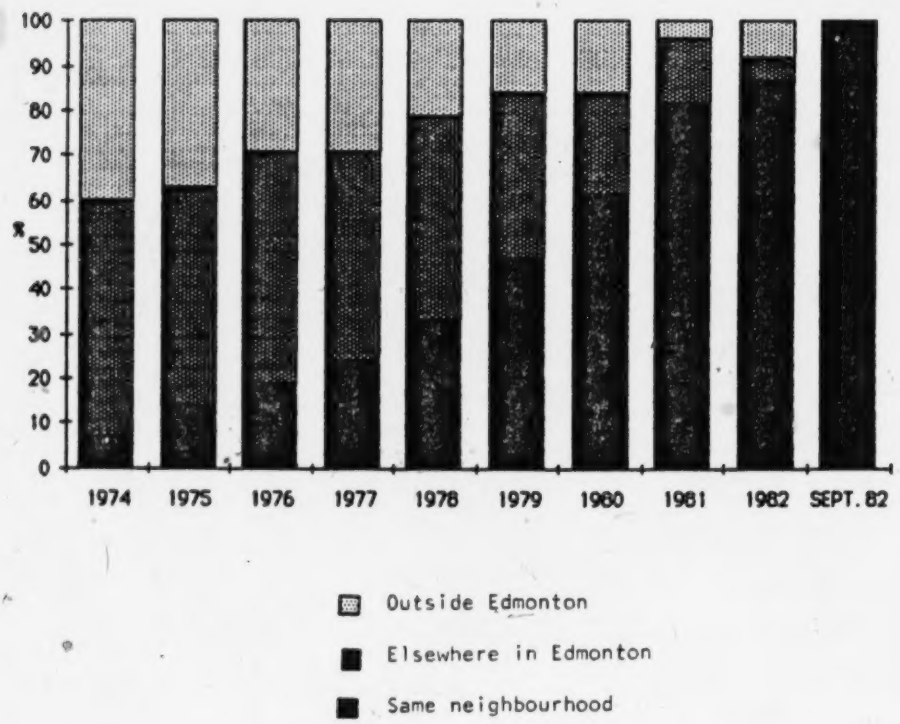


TABLE 6.4

INTENTIONS TO MOVE OUT OF CANORA

	YES		NO		CAN'T SAY	
	Number of Responses	Percentage	Number of Responses	Percentage	Number of Responses	Percentage
Short-term	24	31.6	38	50.0	14	18.4
Long-term	9	18.0	32	64.0	9	18.0

TABLE 6.5

RESIDENTS' EXPRESSED FEELINGS
IF THEY WERE FORCED TO LEAVE CANORA
FOR A NEW JOB ELSEWHERE

	SHORT-TERM		LONG-TERM	
	Number of Responses	Percentage	Number of Responses	Percentage
Very sorry	10	13.3	18	36.0
Quite sorry	22	29.3	17	34.0
Neutral	37	49.3	14	28.0
Quite pleased	2	2.7	-	-
Very pleased	4	5.3	1	2.0
	75	100.0	48	100.0

6.3.2 Quality of Neighbourhood Environment

Ranking of Neighbourhood Attractiveness

Both groups of respondents were asked to indicate their general opinions about the contemporary neighbourhood environment on a five-point scale. Their assessments were solicited for such features as neighbourhood attractiveness, friendliness, pleasantness, street patterns, neighbourhood privacy and safety, community spirit, future housing stock stability and the current quality of housing(Table 6.6). As revealed by the attraction scores, long-term residents rated Canora's neighbourhood environment significantly more positively than did short-term residents. There were also some differences in the rank ordering of neighbourhood features between the two groups. Long-term residents seem to feel much more attracted to instrinsic social features (pleasantness and friendliness), while short-term residents ranked Canora highest on its physical features (attractiveness of area, neighbourhood layout). Neighbourhood safety was given a relatively positive response by long-term residents, while short-term residents perceived it to be a serious problem.

The small differences between the two groups may be partially explained by their varying degrees of neighbourhood commitment and attachment. Long-term residents are generally more committed to Canora and are more likely to perceive 'neighbourhood attractiveness' on the basis of their long familiarity with social networks and more readily identify themselves by their links to Canora as a distinct social space. On the other hand, short-term residents, who are less familiar with their neighbours in Canora, are more likely to perceive neighbourhood attractiveness in terms of physical features.

On balance, however, the similarities in rankings may be important than the differences. Both groups rated neighbourhood attractiveness, friendliness, pleasantness, and privacy in the top five places of the neighbourhood attraction scale. These similarities reveal that common qualities are appreciated by all residents in their living environment. At the same time, the fact that both groups gave low ratings to quality of housing stock, community spirit and future stability is most revealing, since these factors were seen, under NIP and RRAP, to be critical to neighbourhood upgrading and resident well-being. Of the elements explicitly addressed through the improvement program, only neighbourhood layout received comparatively high scores (.431 and .255), although it might be inferred

TABLE 6.6

NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTRACTION RATING:
LONG-TERM AND SHORT-TERM RESIDENTS

SHORT-TERM RESIDENTS		LONG-TERM RESIDENTS	
RANKING	SCORE*	RANKING	SCORE*
1. Attractiveness	.458	1. Pleasantness	.837
2. Neighbourhood layout	.431	2. Friendliness	.708
3. Friendliness	.367	3. Attractiveness	.574
4. Pleasantness	.306	4. Privacy	.479
5. Privacy	.278	5. Neighbourhood safety	.396
6. Future stability	.116	6. Neighbourhood layout	.255
7. Quality of housing stock	-.028	7. Community spirit	.188
8. Community spirit	-.081	8. Quality of housing stock	.149
9. Neighbourhood safety	-.137	9. Future stability	.106

*The score was calculated by using the following weighting system. Very attractive was weighted +2; attractive: +1; neutral: 0; unattractive: -1; very unattractive: -2. For each factor, the number of respondents in each category were multiplied by the appropriate weight. These were then added up and divided by the number of respondents for that question. For example: short-term residents' ranking of attractiveness:

Ranking		#		Weighted		Score
A	-	11	x	2	=	22
A	-	22	x	1	=	22
N	-	23	x	0	=	0
UA	-	7	x	-1	=	-7
VUA	-	4	x	-2	=	-8
		72				39
		39	÷	72	=	.458

that the scores for attractiveness and privacy also owe something to the planned improvements.

Favourable Neighbourhood Features

To supplement the rating of neighbourhood attractiveness residents were asked to identify particular features that pleased them about Canora. Nine categories of responses were compiled from the open-ended question (Table 6.7). Canora's quietness was ranked most highly by both long- and short-term residents and its central location was ranked next by both groups. The availability of shopping facilities was also a well-regarded feature. Community spirit was ranked highly by long-term residents who probably maintained neighbourhood ties and continue to value community consciousness more than short-term residents. On the other hand, neighbourhood parks and green space were ranked fairly high by short-term residents, but were scarcely mentioned by the long-term residents.

The quietness of Canora can be attributed, at least in part, to the street alterations by which through traffic has been prevented from using Canora as a short-cut. This traffic alteration may also account for the privacy which is now perceived to be one of Canora's main attractions (Table 6.7). In other respects, however, both groups of respondents tended to identify as most favourable those qualities that were beyond the control of neighbourhood physical planning. The high ranking of features such as Canora's central location and its proximity to shopping facilities suggests that there were limits on the degree to which actions taken under NIP and RRAP could enhance the attractiveness of Canora. The attraction of Canora came in a large part from its juxtaposition to other metropolitan features and attractions (schools, shopping, work opportunites), and its reasonably central location.

Unfavourable Neighbourhood Features

In a similar fashion the survey respondents were asked to identify those features of Canora that they regarded as unfavourable. By and large they seized on the problems that were chronic in 1971. These included limited on-street parking, excessive numbers of duplexes and renters, neighbourhood safety, poor municipal services, housing degradation and street design problems (Table 6.8). The traffic bottlenecks at major

TABLE 6.7

FAVOURABLE NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITIES/FEATURES

SHORT-TERM RESIDENTS			LONG-TERM RESIDENTS		
RANKING	FEATURE	SCORE*	RANKING	FEATURE	SCORE*
1.	Quiet neighbourhood	73	1.	Quiet neighbourhood	44
2.	Central location	431	2.	Friendliness	37
3.	Shopping facilities	52	3.	Community spirit	22
4.	Parks and green spaces	25	4.	Shopping facilities	19
5.	Close to work	23	5.	Housing improvements	11
6.	Community spirit	19	6.	Close to schools	7
7.	Close to schools	14	7.	Close to work	5
8.	Housing improvement	11	8.	Parks and green spaces	4
		n = 49			n = 28

*Score was calculated by assigning each 1st choice a 3 point score; 2nd: 2 points; 3rd: 1 point for each feature, and then adding up the total and ranking the features according to their cumulative totals.

NOTE: The scores of long-term and short-term residents cannot be compared because of different sample sizes.

TABLE 6.8

UNFAVOURABLE NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITIES/FEATURES

SHORT-TERM RESIDENTS		LONG-TERM RESIDENTS	
RANKING FEATURE	SCORE*	RANKING FEATURE	SCORE*
1. Traffic and parking	55	1. Excessive duplexes	32
2. Neighbourhood safety	421	2. Traffic and parking	28
3. Housing degradation	34	3. Excessive renters	20
4. Excessive renters	25	4. Neighbourhood safety	15
5. Poor municipal services	19	5. Housing degradation	13
6. Excessive duplexes	18	6. Poor municipal services	10
7. Street design problems	14	7. Street design problems	9
8. Poor landscaping	10	8. Noisy neighbourhood	6
9. Noisy neighbourhood	0	9. Poor landscaping	3
	n = 49		n = 28

*Score was calculated by assigning each 1st choice a 3 point score; 2nd: 2 points; 3rd: 1 point for each feature, and then adding up the total and ranking the features according to their cumulative totals.

NOTE: The scores of long-term and short-term residents cannot be compared because of different sample sizes.

boundary intersections, neighbourhood safety, and the generally crowded neighbourhood conditions were named as the most unfavourable features. All of these problems may have been aggravated by increases in housing densities as a result of redevelopment. Short- and long-term respondents noted similar features as being unfavourable, except with respect to duplex redevelopment. Long-term residents rated this feature as most unfavourable whereas short-term residents gave it sixth place on their ranking scale.

Resident Reactions to Duplexes

To narrow down the opinions about duplexes more precisely, a separate question was devoted to this topic. Reaction to the rash of newly constructed duplexes was seen as an important indicator for the final assessment of neighbourhood change. It was envisioned that the presence of duplexes would ultimately affect the level of resident commitment, contentment, and investment. For these reasons respondents were asked to indicate on a five point scale whether they approved or disapproved of the numbers of duplexes in Canora (Table 6.9).

Approximately 50 percent of both groups approved of duplex redevelopment, but a larger percentage of long-term residents expressed definite disapproval. It is surprising that so many long-term residents (51 percent) approved of duplexes in 1982, given the strong opposition to rezoning and redevelopment that had been expressed 10 years before. The short-term respondents, on the other hand, are more representative of the rental population for whom duplexes are an important form of accommodation. If anything, it is surprising that their reaction was not more positive. It suggests that even those who live in duplexes may have some doubt about the large concentration of them that Canora now possesses.

Comparison of Canora with Nearby Neighbourhoods

To complete the set of questions on neighbourhood quality, the respondents were asked to rate Canora against surrounding neighbourhoods (Table 6.10). One-half of the respondents indicated that they perceived Canora's neighbourhood environment to be similar in quality to the surrounding areas. Most of the others thought Canora was better than its neighbours. A generally more positive rating was given by long-term residents,

TABLE 6.9

RESPONDENTS' REACTION TO THE NUMBER OF DUPLEXES

	SHORT-TERM %	LONG-TERM %
Strongly approve	19.2	6.4
Approve	28.8	44.7
Neutral	27.4	6.4
Disapprove	16.4	23.4
Strongly disapprove	8.2	19.1
	n = 73.0	n = 47.0

TABLE 6.10

RATINGS OF CANORA'S ENVIRONMENT
IN COMPARISON WITH SURROUNDING NEIGHBOURHOODS

RATING OF CANORA	SHORT-TERM RESPONDENTS		LONG-TERM RESPONDENTS		COMBINED	
	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%
Much better	10	13.5	12	24.0	22	17.8
Somewhat better	19	25.7	9	18.0	28	22.6
Similar	36	48.6	26	52.0	62	50.0
Somewhat worse	7	9.5	1	2.0	8	6.5
Much worse	2	2.7	2	4.0	4	3.2
TOTAL	74	100.0	50	100.0	124	100.0

although the difference between the two groups of respondents was slight. As with the results shown in Table 6.6, the more positive response from the long-term residents could be explained by their greater familiarity with the local area and their awareness that Canora has experienced greater change than other neighbourhoods nearby. However, considering the special treatment Canora received through NIP and RRAP, the respondents' evaluation of the comparison is not exactly a vote of confidence for public intervention

6.3.3 Resident Participation in Neighbourhood Affairs

The degree of resident interest in neighbourhood affairs was substantially higher among long-term respondents (Table 6.11). Almost one-half, 48 percent, of short-term residents were only slightly interested in community affairs whereas 68 percent of the long-term residents claimed to be very or quite interested. These differences are also confirmed by comparing the vaying degrees of resident participation in neighbourhood organizations (Table 6.12). Short-term residents were seldom members of neighbourhood clubs, groups or organizations. However, the reasons given for not taking part in neighbourhood organizations indicated that there was no significant difference between the two groups (Table 6.13). The most common response in both cases was 'no desire', although the short-term residents proved to be somewhat more apathetic than the long-term residents.

The low level of interest demonstrated by short-term respondents is revealing. Even though many of them were known to be transient renters and expected to be less committed to the neighbourhood, the overall apathy was quite unexpected. By all accounts Canora's resident interest level was abnormally low for an established community. Very often the reverse situation is found to be true in revitalized neighbourhoods. That is to say, short-term residents often dominate neighbourhood organizations. This is particularly the case with gentrifying neighbourhoods where there is a mix of well-organized newcomers of relatively high socio-economic status, and less-organized, lower-status incumbents. In Canora, the influx of short-term residents, of whom a high proportion are renters and have little interest in the neighbourhood as a whole, appears to be responsible for an apathetic attitude toward neighbourhood affairs that is rarely associated with public

TABLE 6.11

LEVEL OF INTEREST IN NEIGHBOURHOOD AFFAIRS

LEVEL OF INTEREST	SHORT-TERM RESPONDENTS n	%	LONG-TERM RESPONDENTS n	%
Very interested	4	5.6	15	31.9
Quite interested	18	25.4	17	36.2
Slightly interested	34	47.9	12	25.5
Not interested	15	21.1	3	6.4
TOTAL	71	100.0	47	100.0

TABLE 6.12

MEMBERSHIP IN NEIGHBOURHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

(QUESTION 9)

NEIGHBOURHOOD ORGANIZATION	SHORT-TERM RESPONDENTS Number of Respondents	% of Sample (n = 76)	LONG-TERM RESPONDENTS Number of Respondents	% of Sample (n = 50)
CNIA	4	4.3	23	46.0
CCL	16	21.1	20	40.0
Block parents	6	7.9	7	14.0
Other	2	2.6	5	10.0
More than one organization	7	9.2	27	54.0

TABLE 6.13

REASONS FOR NOT TAKING PART IN NEIGHBOURHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

NEIGHBOURHOOD ORGANIZATION	SHORT-TERM RESPONDENTS		LONG-TERM RESPONDENTS	
	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%
Lack of opportunity	10	18.2	6	21.4
No desire	31	56.4	12	42.9
Not enough time	6	10.9	2	7.1
No worthwhile issues	3	5.5	4	14.3
Don't feel I could have an impact	5	9.1	4	14.3
TOTAL	55	100.0	28	100.0

projects for incumbent upgrading. This large group of renters (71 percent in 1983, Edmonton Civic Census) are reported to move once every three years which might explain why they do not involve themselves in neighbourhood organizations.

6.4 Discussion

It is clear from the analysis that Canora residents, both long- and short-term, are generally satisfied with the 'improved' neighbourbood. There were however, some unexpected neighbourhood changes associated with revitalization that have since resulted in some degree of dissatisfaction. The most negatively rated features included persistent traffic bottlenecks, parking problems, noise along the neighbourhood boundaries and the persistent problem of absentee landlords (as illustrated by high rates of renters and duplexes.

Resident ratings of Canora's physical environment were fairly predictable given the significant public investment for municipal services and neighbourhood facilities. The less favourable rating of Canora's social environment points to destabilization in Canora during the neighbourhood improvement project. This instability is shown in a number of key areas, notably the short length of residency, low resident interest in neighbourhood affairs and low levels of participation in neighbourhood organizations. However, there was also some indication that residents are beginning to view Canora more positively (i.e. fewer residents intended to move out and many would feel sorry to leave Canora).

Neighbourhood social change has definitely occurred in Canora . The most blatant change has been the loss of long-term residents, only 82 of whom could be found in Canora in 1982. This is strong sign of residential instability. Among the long-term residents who responded to the questionnaire, most expressed approval for the physical improvements carried out under NIP, although road closures and landscaping were not viewed as favourably as lane lighting and paving. The unexpected neighbourhood change that was identified most frequently was the excessive number of duplexes that have been built. Some respondents also felt that traffic and parking problems had been aggravated as a result of crowded residential conditions, although through traffic has been significantly reduced by the road closures. Properties along boundary streets are still experiencing some traffic noise, and congestion is a problem at the neighbourhood entries.

Generally speaking, long-term residents indicated that neighbourhood concerns were less in 1982 than in 1972. Nonetheless, concerns regarding absentee landlords and excessive neighbourhood population remain high and perceived problems resulting from Canora's proximity to major transportation corridors and shopping facilities have not been improved upon by the neighbourhood improvement program.

Long-term respondents were generally attached to Canora for its intrinsic features (attractiveness, friendliness and pleasantness), whereas short-term residents tended to rate physical features (neighbourhood layout) as being more attractive to them. The results are far from clear-cut, but it seems that short-term residents value social neighbourhood features less than long-term residents.

That pattern of response was also reflected in the low level of involvement in neighbourhood affairs. One of the most revealing findings was the severe apathy that plagues Canora, more especially among short-term residents but affecting a large proportion of long-term respondents as well. Some of the latter also feel that there are no longer any worthwhile issues for which to band together. In this vital element of CMHC's conception of neighbourhood improvement, it must be concluded that the Canora plan was not effective. No longlasting sense of community seems to have been forged, although the long-term respondents still single out community spirit as one of Canora's most attractive features.

To summarize, Canora's residents in 1982 were far more transient and far less committed to Canora's future than was ever envisioned. It appears that NIP and RRAP improvements were well received , but there have also been major social changes as a result of new housing types, new residents and population increase. It was anticipated by CMHC, the City of Edmonton and the CNIA that neighbourhood upgrading would reduce many of the problems that were creating instability in the early 1970's. In reality it proved to be naive' to expect that the influence of absentee landlords, rezoning pressures and deteriorating social networks would not influence the prospects of neighbourhood rehabilitation. It was CMHC's intention that public intervention under NIP should bring positive spinoffs in resident commitments to invest in private revitalization a heightened level of neighbourhood organization and stronger community spirit. Unfortunately, the unexpected changes to housing densities and tenure have had more of an impact on

neighbourhood revitalization. More importantly, the elements that were believed to be critical to effective neighbourhood improvement (owner-occupied housing, strong neighbourhood organization and interest in rehabilitation), have not proven to be sufficient stimulants in the Canora case. In their own assesssments of the 'improved' Canora, long- and short-term residents both favoured features that were not under the authority of NIP and RRAP to change. These external features included Canora's relatively central location and its proximity to metropolitan attractions. If these external influences are joined to those of the neighbourhood real estate market and the metropolitan housing situation, it is no wonder that the internal community mechanisms were not effective in restoring Canora to a stable single-family neighbourhood. At the same time, since the sample of short-term residents reported that they were more attracted to some features of Canora's environment that were enhanced by the neighbourhood improvement program, it is reasonable to conclude that the planned upgrading contributed to Canora's instability. It may very well have been the public investment that first drew large private investments, and later attracted new rental households to Canora.

7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Thesis Findings

The primary objective of the thesis was to assess whether the Canora neighbourhood improvement plan, which carried large social hopes in association with its desire for physical improvement, was able to bring about positive social results. The project is to be judged successful if its stated objectives were implemented and if they proved to be appropriately related to the larger social ends that they were designed to serve (Kent, 1964, p. 18). In effect, as the analysis developed, this came down to a single question: Did the public expenditures provided by NIP and RRAP to upgrade infrastructure and neighbourhood quality of life aid the incumbent population or did they chiefly benefit others who were not part of the intended target population? NIP and RRAP were created in the hope that they would inhibit the potentially negative effects of neighbourhood redevelopment and gentrification by allowing existing residents to upgrade their living standards. In the Canora case, it was clear that this did not happen.

In terms of the social aims of the national programs, the following can be concluded from the Canora case study:

Conclusion 1: NIP and RRAP did not meet the objective of providing incentives to low-income incumbents to take up housing rehabilitation in Canora.

Through NIP and RRAP it was hoped that the residents would become actively involved in planning and priorizing the implementation of housing rehabilitation schemes and the upgrading of municipal services. The improvement incentives offered by RRAP were aimed at reducing the financial burden of home improvement costs for low-income families and at encouraging residents to commit themselves to long-term housing investments above and beyond the public expenditures made to public infrastructure. However, much of Canora's housing stock was judged to be badly deteriorated and below the minimum property standards set out in the Minimum Property Standards Bylaw and CMHC selection criteria. Furthermore, the national subsidy and loan limits for RRAP were set at a maximum of $5,000 which meant that housing units in urgent need of rehabilitation could not be adaquately improved under that ceiling. Low resident participation in RRAP reflects the poor state of the neighbourhood's household finances and housing stock.

Conclusion 2: Neighbourhood improvement did not stabilize Canora, physically or socially.

Through a combination of the regulatory powers of municipal governments and federally sponsored housing improvement, it was believed it would be possible to stimulate community based initiatives and ensure neighbourhood stability by providing moderate-income housing improvement opportunities and raising local commitment for neighbourhood improvement. At the same time, NIP and RRAP public intervention were to serve as the necessary catalyst to stimulate private revitalization by the incumbent residents and enable them to organize themselves to resist housing market forces which could undermine neighbourhood social ties and fragment property ownership. In this manner it was hoped that community autonomy would be strengthened.

NIP and RRAP failed to bring about neighbourhood stability in Canora. The positive social changes that were anticipated did not materialize. This may have been caused by conditions prevailing in Canora before the improvement plan was in place. Much of the internal and external pressure for redevelopment was ignored and the neighbourhood improvement plan blindly proceeded in hope of achieving incumbent upgrading. Early duplex construction was not recognized as one such indication that Canora might be prime for redevelopment and therefore unsuitable for rehabilitation. The protests of absentee landlords and the petitions for rezoning were not interpreted as signs of future redevelopment in the neighbourhood (City Planning Department Evaluation of NIP and RRAP, 1978, p. 25).

Canora residential ownership patterns also demonstrated early signs of residential instability. This pattern was far too fragmented to be adaquately restored to owner-occupied, single-family status. At the time of Canora's designation almost 30 percent of Canora residents were renters (Older Neighbourhoods, 1974) which meant that a good portion of neighbourhood housing was in the hands of absentee landlords. The risk of residential instability and the potential damage of absentee landlords was articulated in 1976 in the document *Selection of Neighbourhood Improvement Program Areas* (1976, pp. 20-22). This cautioned that:

> The apparent focus of the NIP program is the conservation and rehabilitation of housing stock. However, the need and opportunity for this type of structural improvement cannot be adequately evaluated without first addressing the likelihood of redevelopment in the area. Whereas, past NIP and RRAP

> documentation has concentrated on the apparent indications of neighbourhood instability such as large-scale redevelopment, rezoning applications and zoning capability, the latent potential for redevelopment must be sought by detecting small-scale changes. Indicators of this nature include duplex redevelopment, existing large lots and poor housing conditions.

It appears that planners and residents generally did not pay sufficient heed to these physical indicators of instability prior to undertaking neighbourhood improvement projects aimed at area rehabilitation. This is not surprising in the Canora case, given the circumstances of plan preparation, particularly the political protests that were then rife. It is likely that Canora was selected as NIP neighbourhood without the rigorous selection process that was to precede NIP designation as laid out in the *NIP Operator's Handbook*. Whether Canora was selected because of the planning and organizational activity that had already gone on before NIP designation, or whether CMHC did not look into the neighbourhood situation carefully enough, Canora was not as stable as all those involved would have hoped. The conclusion may very well be that, at that early date, too little was known about revitalization and the consequences of selecting unstable neighbourhoods. In 1972, with no prior experience, CMHC was probably too much in hope that it could induce stability in neighbourhoods that were already showing signs of instability.

The question then becomes, was Canora stable enough to take control of its destiny and ward off internal and external forces working in opposition to the wishes of preservationists? The answer is no. In fact, the improvement program has had its own destabilizing effect. Due to Canora's fundamental instability, revitalization proceeded on an unplanned course, and stimulated unanticipated private sector incentives which brought about significant social and physical change in the neighbourhood.

One of the major changes accompanying revitalization in Canora has been the inflation of housing prices (Table 5.5). Municipal service improvements and rising property values have raised the cost of home-ownership in Canora to levels that were not affordable for incumbents. Residential instability was also brought about from resident displacement as a result of private real estate market activity to redevelop some of Canora's poor housing stock. It may also be speculated that the implementation of the improvement project may itself have brought about some resident displacement, although evidence for this was difficult to find. Movers were hard to trace due to Canora's large rental population and the long-drawn-out nature of the revitalization process. Furthermore,

grants for relocation and alternative housing were available only to incumbent home-owners, not renters.

In summary the NIP and RRAP projects were not enough in themselves to control Canora's real estate market and to limit investment attraction to the area. On the contrary, demand for neighbourhood housing may have increased because the various physical improvements attracted new residents with greater expendable earnings for housing.

Conclusion 3: Canora has undergone social change in conjunction with neighbourhood revitalization.

In addition to the structural and ownership changes to Canora's housing, there appears to have been some degree of social change. The neighbourhood population is now stratified into two distinct groups. One is comprised of the owner-occupiers in single-family dwellings, including the remnant of the incumbent population, and the other of comparatively recent residents living in newly-constructed, rental duplexes. This distinct physical / social dichotomy displays the chief effect of neighbourhood revitalization. Although the Canora Development Scheme set out to control radical neighbourhood change, judging from the numbers of new duplexes and new residents, it would appear that the plan was not entirely successful. Socially, Canora has evolved into quite a different community from that which was first active during plan preparation and implementation. Moreover, the analysis of real estate market transactions, property assessment records and field surveys found that Canora continues to be in a state of change. Length of residency is short, owner-occupier status has not greatly increased, and land uses are continually being altered to take advantage of rezoning and redevelopment opportunities.

Conclusion 4: NIP and RRAP may have over-emphasized citizen participation and neighbourhood organization and under-emphasized housing quality as criteria for neighbourhood selection.

Social stability as defined by NIP and RRAP was to be demonstratred by citizen organization, community spirit, pride in ownership and expressed commitment to remain in the community. In the Canora case, these criteria proved to be weak indicators of actual commitment to revitalization. The program criteria used by CMHC for neighbourhood selection incorrectly depicted Canora as potentially stable enough to benefit from

rehabilitation. Citizen participation, although required by NIP and RRAP, did nothing more than identify supportive community sentiments and a degree of resident organization. They failed to provide an accurate assessment of how well the rehabilitation project would be accepted by residents or how willing they were to adopt social attitudes conducive to community stability. In the event, Canora's instability has borne out the position adopted by the redevelopment interests in the early 1970's. The CPOA in their Brief to City Council indicated that there were a good many residents who favoured redevelopment and whose attitudes would work in opposition to the aspirations for neighbourhood stability and community solidarity. These destablizing factors were not heeded. In consequence, Canora has taken on quite a different image than that which was first developed by optimistic preservationists. Since that time of internal conflict, Canora has undergone continuous redevelopment and the major financial benefactors of neighbourhood improvement have been private, absentee investors. City of Edmonton Assessment records also revealed that declining properties were exchanged many times without assessable improvements. This might indicate that these real estate sales were speculative in nature (DiGiovanni, 1983). If so, Canora's residential environment became even more unstable as a consequence of real estate speculation.

In addition, because a strong citizen group influenced the decision to award project assistance to Canora, objective housing stock assessments and selection procedures were hampered by the local pressure for early designation. The Canora neighbourhood surveys were later judged by the planning staff to be subjective, inaccurate, and generally unsophisticated in their ability to present plausible rehabilitation possibilities to residents (City of Edmonton, 1978, p. 18). Much of the information on housing conditions was derived from a windshield survey which masked the severe internal structural and subsystem deficiencies. In short, if it had been realized how bad so many houses in Canora were, it may never have been approved for NIP and RRAP assistance. However, physical selection criteria generally tended to play a subordinate role to community criteria, in CMHC's application of its neighbourhood selection procedures (Peter Bernard Associates, 1974, p. 18).

7.2 Implications of the Canora Case Study for Planning Theory and Neighbourhood Improvement Programs

The primary implication of the Canora case study is that, although physical reconstruction is an important element of neighbourhood improvement, it is not necessarily the exclusive strategy. The Canora case study suggests that revitalization results from a multitude of factors, not simply from housing stock upgrading. For instance, factors such as redevelopment pressures, speculative investments, community organization, community leadership, resident participation and neighbourhood social and friendship patterns contribute to both neighbourhood decline and revitalization (Clay, 1979). Given the complexity of the issues, it stands to reason that neighbourhood improvement programs should be equally multi-faceted and aim at upgrading all aspects of neighbourhood life, not just housing conditions.

The policy of selectively choosing neighbourhoods and developing improvement plans for these small spatially distinct areas should be discarded. Each neighbourhood naturally promotes its specific needs. These inevitably conflict with the goals and objectives of other neighbourhoods and the municipality as a whole, especially when public funds are scarce. This 'adversary approach' to neighbourhood selection raises important questions concerning the social justice of the allocation of public funds.

Exculsionary neighbourhood policies which promote public intervention in one area while leaving other areas to decline should be continuously challenged and modified to reflect the needs of the community as a whole. Some researchers question whether it is at all justifiable to use federal, provincial and municipal tax monies to improve small geographical areas. Subsidies for housing stock improvements have more recently been found to be successful on a city-wide basis without arbitrarily designating one neigbourhood over another. RRAP funds have been administered in this manner since 1978.

Neighbourhood improvement strategies that are couched in terms of community development and self-help initiatives seem to lack longevity and effectiveness. The apathy of Canora residents eight years after plan termination is proof of this. It has also been proven that community spirit and organization cannot bring about incumbent upgrading unless there is first some degree of resident control over financial resources (Nachmias

and Palen, 1982, p. 190). It is necessary to set up community organizations aimed specifically at generating economic and financial strength for the improvement efforts through property management. More recently, neighbourhood improvement programs have transfered project management responsibility to a number of neighbourhood institutions including community housing co-operatives, community economic services, businesses, neighbourhood service centres and housing companies. These groups provide long-term investment stability and have some power to control neighbourhood real estate and housing trends. Community organization with financial authority has been found to be more effective in carrying out the wishes of incumbents than interest groups who aim to inform and organize resident protest.

7.3 Recommendations for the Modification of Neighbourhood Improvement Programs

Throughout the ex-post evaluation a number of project shortcomings were identified and a few modifications for project improvement became apparent. The most significant modification would be to provide new opportunities for residents to expand, their local involvement beyond the level of consciousness-raising during plan preparation. Resident involvement should extend to the actual administration, implementation and evaluation of the plan. This has proven to be more effective in maintaining housing upgrading and ensuring long-term commitments to the neighbourhood. Furthermore, projects would function more smoothly if planners and bureaucrats took a developmental approach to solving neighbourhood social problems and identifying the special needs of residents, especially the disadvantaged residents (low-income groups, senior citizens and renters) who are most often overlooked in planning for neighbourhood improvement (Jamison, 1984). These community groups should also be incorporated into programs providing a wide spectrum of social services and facilities at the neighbourhood level. These support systems can assist in attaining the long-term goal of developing a total improvement approach to neighbourhood stability. A recommendation for future neighbourhood improvement programs would therefore be to register special needs households and low-income rental households who may face displacement as a result of revitalization. The social well-being of the existing population is paramount, otherwise

neighbourhood improvement through housing rehabilitation will repeat the mistakes of bulldozer urban renewal. Without the assurance of planning processes and financial arrangements which seek to identify and alleviate the social and economic impacts of neighbourhood change, some persons living in the incumbent upgrading neighbourhood will be adversely affected. Displacement of incumbents should not be allowed to become the normal course of neighbourhood improvement and, to guarantee that this is not the case, special private and public sector initiatives are required. For the Canora incumbent upgrading project the dislocation of residents and the extent of unintended changes were never addressed and these impacts were never brought under control to stablize the area. To avoid such oversights elsewhere volunteers, governments, community and commercial organizations, and planners must work together to develop strategies that can strengthen the autonomy of neighbourhoods whose economic conditions are poor.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Latoszek, John, Senior Housing Rehabilitation Officer, City of Edmonton, August 15, 1984.

Bruce, John, City of Edmonton Minimum Standards Bylaw Enforcement Officer, August, 1984.

Mrs. Elaine Dyck, Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Association Chairman, April 1982.

APPENDIX A

Department of Geography,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.
T6G 2H4

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am a graduate student at the University of Alberta studying for my masters degree in urban geography. My research focuses on urban renwal in central city neighbourhoods. The subject of my research is Canora and the redevelopment that has occurred since the 1974 Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Plan of 1974.

My reason for carrying out a resident questionnaire is to evaluate how well planners anticipated the residential development in Canora, while attempting to provide for the needs of future residents to Canora. My goal is to suggest ways for planning groups to better plan redevelopment and renewal in neighbourhoods by using the experiences of Canora residents as examples.

As I am sure you will appreciate, the successful completion of this research is largely dependent upon your cooperation. I would, therefore, be extremely grateful if you would complete and return the short questionnaire enclosed.

The information you provide is not only invaluable for my research but will also provide useful information to urban planners and other neighbourhood groups for the purpose of directing the course of their redevelpment.

It is important that you complete this questionnaire! The answers that you give will be kept confidential and will only be released in an aggregate form.

If you have any questions concerning this study please do not hesitate to contact myself, at home, 435 7484 (after 5 o'clock) or at the Department of Geography, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 432 5624.

I am very grateful for your cooperation. Your time and interest will greatly help me to in my study.

Sincerely,

Emma Sicoli

Emma C. Sicoli

LONG-TERM

CANORA RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please fill in the following information about your household and dwelling unit.

a). **Dwelling Type**

Single family	_____
Duplex	_____
Basement suite	_____
Other	_____

b). **Ownership Type**

Rented	_____
Owned	_____

c). **Year dwelling was built** _____

d). **Total number of finished rooms** _____

e). **Number of persons in household** _____

f). **When did you move to this dwelling?** _____

2a. The following is a partial list of resident concerns in 1974. Please indicate whether you personally feel that these concerns are a) greater today, b) less today or c) remain unchanged.

CITIZEN CONCERNS	GREATER TODAY	LESS TODAY	REMAIN UNCHANGED
Absentee landlords	____	____	____
Deteriorated homes	____	____	____
Development pressure	____	____	____
Real estate pressure	____	____	____
Traffic flow an noise	____	____	____

2b. Have there been any unexpected changes in traffic, housing, or other neighbourhood features as a result of Neighbourhood Improvement Program of 1974? Please describe these unexpected changes.

.....
.....
.....

3. The following is a list of possible reasons that may have influenced you to remain in Canora. Please rank each reason using the scale of importance below.

1. Very important 2. Important or, 3. Not important

a) Canora is close to downtown _____
b) Family and friends live in Canora _____
c) Housing improvements made to Canora _____
d) Canora is close to work opportunities _____
e) Canora had the only available housing _____
f) Other (Specify) .....

4. Do you have any intentions of moving out of Canora in the near future?

Yes _____
No _____
Can't say _____

If yes, what is your main reason for thinking of moving?

.....
.....
.....

5. Do you think Canora is a <u>better</u> or <u>worse</u> place to live than other surrounding neighbourhoods?

Much better _____
Somewhat better _____
Similar _____
Somewhat worse _____
Much worse _____

6. Generally speaking, what are the things you like most about Canora?

.....
.....
.....
.....

7. Generally speaking, what are the things you like least about Canora?

.....
.....
.....
.....

8. How interested are you in what goes on in Canora? Please indicate your level of interest using the scale below.

Very interested _____
Quite interested _____
Slightly interested _____
Not interested _____

9. Have any members of your household attended meetings of one or more of the following neighbourhood organizations in the past year?

Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Association _____
Canora Community League _____
Canora Block Parent Association _____
Other neighbourhood organizations _____

10. If you have answered 'no' to any of the above ,what is your main reason for not taking part? (Please check one only)

Lack of opportunity to get invoved _____
No desire to get involved _____
Not enough opportunity to get involved _____
Do not feel there are any worthwhile issues _____
Do not feel I could have an effect on issues _____
Other .....

11. If you were forced to move out of Canora (say for a new job), how would you feel about leaving?

Very sorry to leave _____
Quite sorry to leave _____
Neither sorry nor pleased _____
Quite pleased to leave _____
Very pleased to leave _____

12. Based on your personal experiences in Canora, what is your reaction to the conversion of older, single family homes to new duplex dwellings? (Please check one answer only)

Strongly approve of duplex development	_____
Approve of duplex development	_____
Do'nt care one way or another	_____
Disapprove of duplex development	_____
Strongly disapprove of duplex development	_____

13. On the scale below, indicate which conditions best describe your feelings about Canora. For example, if Canora is very attractive to you, check box 1, if Canora is very unattractive, check box 5 and if your feelings are neutral, check box 3.

Neighbourhood Rating Scale

Attractiveness of area	1	2	3	4	5
Friendliness of residents	1	2	3	4	5
Pleasantness of neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhoood layout	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhood saftey	1	2	3	4	5
Community spirit	1	2	3	4	5
Future stability	1	2	3	4	5
Privacy	1	2	3	4	5
Quality of housing stock	1	2	3	4	5

14. Please rate the following neighbourhood improvements as a) a) very good b) good c) adaquate d) poor or e) very poor.

IMPROVEMENT	VERY GOOD	GOOD	ADAQUATE	POOR	VERY POOR
Paved lanes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Lane lighting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Road closures	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
One-way streets	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Landscaping	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

15. Additional Comments

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Thank you for your co-operation.

Short-term

CANORA RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please fill in the following information about your household and dwelling unit.

a). **Dwelling Type**

Single family	_____
Duplex	_____
Basement suite	_____
Other	_____

b). **Ownership Type**

Rented	_____
Owned	_____

c). **Year dwelling was built** _____

d). **Total number of finished rooms** _____

e). **Number of persons in household** _____

f). **When did you move to this dwelling?** _____

2. Please indicate your household's place of residence during the years 1974-1982 by writing the appropriate number(1,2,3 or 4) beside each year.

Place of Residence

Same dwelling/same neighbourhood

Elsewhere in Edmonton
Outside Edmonton

1974	___	1975	___	1976	___
1977	___	1978	___	1979	___
1980	___	1981	___	1982	___

3. The following is a list of possible reasons that may have influenced your move to Canora. Please rank each reason using the scale of importance below.

1. Very important 2. Important or, 3. Not important

a) Canora is close to downtown _____
b) Family and friends live in Canora _____
c) Housing improvements made to Canora _____
d) Canora is close to work opportunities _____
e) Canora had the only available housing _____
f) Other (Specify) .....

4. Do you have any intentions of moving out of Canora in the near future?

Yes _____
No _____
Can't say _____

If yes, what is your main reason for thinking of moving?

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5. Do you think Canora is a <u>better</u> or <u>worse</u> place to live than other surrounding neighbourhoods?

Much better _____
Somewhat better _____
Similar _____
Somewhat worse _____
Much worse _____

6. Generally speaking, what are the things you like most about Canora?

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7. Generally speaking, what are the things you like least about Canora?

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8. How interested are you in what goes on in Canora? Please indicate your level of interest using the scale below.

Very interested _____
Quite interested _____
Slightly interested _____
Not interested _____

9. Have any members of your household attended meetings of one or more of the following neighbourhood organizations in the past year?

Canora Neighbourhood Improvement Association _____
Canora Community League _____
Canora Block Parent Association _____
Other neighbourhood organizations _____

10. If you have answered 'no' to any of the above ,what is your main reason for not taking part? (Please check one only)

Lack of opportunity to get invoved _____
No desire to get involved _____
Not enough opportunity to get involved _____
Do not feel there are any worthwhile issues _____
Do not feel I could have an effect on issues _____
Other .....

11. If you were forced to move out of Canora (say for a new job), how would you feel about leaving?

Very sorry to leave _____
Quite sorry to leave _____
Neither sorry nor pleased _____
Quite pleased to leave _____
Very pleased to leave _____

12. Based on your personal experiences in Canora, what is your reaction to the conversion of older, single family homes to new duplex dwellings? (Please check one answer only)

Strongly approve of duplex development	_____
Approve of duplex development	_____
Do'nt care one way or another	_____
Disapprove of duplex development	_____
Strongly disapprove of duplex development	_____

13. On the scale below, indicate which conditions best describe your feelings about Canora. For example, if Canora is very attractive to you, check box 1, if Canora is very unattractive, check box 5 and if your feelings are neutral, check box 3.

Neighbourhood Rating Scale

Attractiveness of area	1	2	3	4	5
Friendliness of residents	1	2	3	4	5
Pleasantness of neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhoood layout	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhood saftey	1	2	3	4	5
Community spirit	1	2	3	4	5
Future stability	1	2	3	4	5
Privacy	1	2	3	4	5
Quality of housing stock	1	2	3	4	5

14. Do you consider Canora to be a stable residential neighbourhood at the present time?

Yes	_____
No	_____
Can't say	_____

15. Additional Comments

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Thank you for your co-operation.